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THE ANNALS OF THE HITOTSUBASHI ACADEMY

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ON INHERENT DEFECT OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER INSURED

By Yoshisaku Kato

Professor Emeritus of Insurance

I. *What the Concept "Inherent Defect" means*

Generally speaking, "inherent defect" means material damages of the subject-matter insured, but from the theoretical point of view, it should be taken to mean the perils or risks which are thought to cause the damages. All its processes of damage go within the subject-matter itself, as in the cases of spontaneous combustion, putrefaction, natural death of domestic animals, disease-harms or insect-damages of agricultural products. It is, therefore, contrary to the risks caused from without the subject-matter, such as perils of the seas, fire, thieves and so forth. But there is no difference between both of them, in the sense that each may be perils or accidents to cause damages.¹ It is general tendency that non-liability of the insurer for inherent defect is prescribed in laws, as well as for the damages caused intentionally or by serious faults of the insured. They differ, however, in their natures and in the reasons of non-liability; especially non-liability in the latter case is applicable in every kind of insurance, but not in the former case. Today in laws of every country of the world, non-liability for inherent defect is prescribed with respect to marine insurance, but not always to insurances for land risks.

Historically, the regulations for land insurances have come from their precedents, those of marine insurance. "Maritime perils" have traditionally meant outer-caused risks which occurred under the unusual condition of the voyage, and so inner-caused risks under the usual condition have not been considered marine risks. This idea was brought into insurances for land risks, and gave birth to the principle that the insurer is not liable for the losses resulted from

¹ There are two kinds of losses caused by the inherent defects of the subject-matter insured. One is definite in its origin and the other is accidental (cf. 2(a)).

inherent defect of the subject-matter because they are not due to the perils insured against so far as the same subject that is damaged is concerned. In marine insurance, it is surely a matter of course that inherent defect of the subject-matter having no relation to adventure cannot be the perils insured against, because they are necessary to be not only accidental but also related with adventure. But in insurances for land risks such as fire insurance or agricultural insurance, it cannot be said that inherent defects—spontaneous combustion, disease or insect damages of agricultural products—are not to be the perils insured against.² Here each case is to be determined whether it can be a peril insured against or not, in accordance with each character of insurance; and in reality many of the inherent defects in insurances for land risks can be the perils insured against, though there are some exceptions like disability insurance, in which the inherent defect like sickness is not to be looked upon as a peril insured against because of its character of insurance.

Thus there is wide difference in the meaning of non-liability of the insurer for inherent defect between in marine insurance and in land insurances. Therefore I do not think it proper to apply the above-mentioned principle to ordinary land insurances as done in the commercial code of Japan (article 641), the French law of the contract of insurance (article 33) and the Italian civil law (article 1906).

II. *Introduction and Criticism of Theories with Regard to the Reason of its Legislation*

I have above related about the history of the regulations regarding non-liability of the insurer for inherent defects. Then, by what reasons has it come to be set up, looking from the view point of the laws actually in force? There are several kinds of theories on this question.

(a) Theory of non-risks

This is adopted in judicial precedents of England, and supported by a part of French professors on the questions of marine insurance and also by some of Japanese professors of insurance laws. The maintenance of the English and French is in brief, that the insurer of marine insurance is liable for the losses caused by the accidents which result from adventure itself, but not for those caused by inherent defects of the subject-matter insured.³ Further they say that the losses by inherent defects should be attributed to faults of the insured, and the perils by their faults are deficient in necessary character for marine perils, or accidental character⁴ (*caractère fortuit des risques de mer*). Here I see two mistakes made. One is that there are always faults committed by the insured on the occasion of the damages happening as the result of inherent defects, and the other is that

² Ripert, *Droit Maritime*, Tom. III 1953. N. 2707.

³ "L'assure est responsable du fait de sa chose. Il ne peut prétendre à une indemnité pour un dommage qui ne provient pas de la navigation: il n'y a pas risque de mer". (Ripert, *ditto*, N. 2707).

⁴ Ripert, *ditto*, N. 2643; Gow, *Marine Insurance*, 1931, p. 104 ("...it was held the owner of cargo cannot take advantage of his wrong-doing".—*Pirie v. Middle Dock company* 1881).

the perils causing from faults of the insured are deficient in accidental character. As for the former, perhaps we do not need many words to clear its being wrong, and that the feature in this case, as above mentioned, consists in the fact that the losses come from inherent risks of the subject-matter. The latter view may be said to have originated in the conventional idea that has been attached to marine insurance. In the modern times it is the usual view to draw a line between the losses made by the insured faultily and those made by him intentionally. Non-liability in the first case grew entirely out of the actual requirement of management and that in the second case because of the public good.⁵ Considering all these, I can never agree with such theories as try to explain non-liability of the insurer for inherent defects by the reason that they have no character as risks insured against.

On the other hand, according to Dr. Kitazawa and Dr. Suguro of Japan, because the losses by inherent defects have the definite cause of happening, it is naturally unnecessary for the insurer to make them up; and therefore inherent defects cannot be risks.⁶ But apparently this is contrary to the actual facts: many cases of inherent defects have accidental character while there are a few of them which are definite in their origin as in the case of ordinary leakage or breakage of cargo in marine insurance. Today most professors of every country agree that there are two kinds of inherent defects, definite and indefinite in their origin.⁷

(b) Theory of rationalization of insurance management

Dr. Imamura says that insurers were released from that responsibility for the convenience of insurance management, for there are two kinds of losses by inherent defects, one is measurable of its probability of happening and the other is unmeasurable.⁸ To be sure, there are two of such kinds of the losses by inherent defects, but I think it would be overhasty to conclude that no liability of the insurer for inherent defects was regulated from such reason. If the actual requirements must be taken into consideration in such cases, law should regulate the remission of the insurer's liability only about such kinds of insurances as need that consideration, or should, on the contrary, principally make the insurers liable for inherent defects through all kinds of insurances, and make them, who has the right of self-protection, apply the method of inserting the special agreement of no liability of theirs.

Accordingly, this theory is of service to clear the regulations concerned in

⁵ Y. Kato, *Theory of Loss of the Seas*, (in Japanese) p. 19; Welford and Otter—Barry *Fire Insurance* 1948 p. 62, f. n. (d) ("...The wrong is in making a claim founded on such an act...That act does not become wrongful where a claim is founded on it and its consequences, but the claim is").

⁶ Kitazawa, *Theory of general clause in fire insurance*, (in Japanese) p. 364-347. Suguro, *Marine Insurance*, p. 298. (in Japanese): Magee, an American professor, has the same opinion ("Risks are distinguished from inherent vice."—*Property Insurance* 1955, p. 49).

⁷ Y. Kato, *Theory of Marine risks*. (in Japanese) p. 203; Imamura, *Theory of the contract of marine insurance*, (in Japanese) Vol. II, p. 148; Ritter, *Das Recht der Seeversicherung* II, S. 1029; Picard et Besson, *Traité général des Assurances Terrestres*, Tom II, p. 102; Arnould, *Marine Insurance*, 1954 s. 778.

⁸ Imamura, *ditto*, p. 150.

marine insurance, transport insurance etc.⁹ but is of no use in many kinds of land insurances, particularly insurance of domestic animals, agricultural insurance or the like. In a word, this is of no use to explain about the reason of legislation as to the regulations that establish, as in the commercial code of Japan (article 829. No. 1), no liability of the insurer for the damages by inherent defects.

(c) Theory of tacit interpretation (*Interprétation tacite de volonté*) of the person concerned with the contract of insurance

This is urged by Piccard and Besson,¹⁰ and it is acknowledged that this theory is the unconventional one on the question here, and suits every kind of insurance against loss. But, will the insured of ordinary insurance ever tacitly interpret the remission of the insurer's liability for inherent defects? I think we had better deny it. If there is any of such tacit interpretation, it is on the side of the insurer; and the insured will have the quite opposite interpretation. The contract of insurance is usually closed, because of its feature, with general clauses¹¹ which the insurer draw up; so the limits of the risks which the insurer charges are settled also by the insurer himself. However it does not always follow that the items of the contract correspond with what the insured wish. Anyhow, this question should be regulated in law according to the quite objective situation of things.

(d) Theory of quasi-liability of the insured without fault or theory of equity

Each theory of (a), (b), and (c) not having precisely cleared the reason of legislation under question, I think it perhaps proper to take into consideration the idea of liability (of the insured) without fault in the civil law of Japan. Generally, the subjective condition for one to be liable for making up some losses occurred is that they are caused on purpose or by his faults. But it has recently grown to be apt that he takes the liability without any of that condition. Of course it does not here directly correspond with the concept of liability without fault in the civil law. For, in the latter case there exists properly liability on the side of the one who infringes the right of the other; in the former case, there is no liability in the proper meaning on the side of the insured,—strictly speaking, perils themselves have nothing to do with liability on his side.¹² Yet both are common in this point that the person concerned suffers disadvantages without any fault of his own. The insured can not claim the indemnity for the loss. Standing here, I am going to explain about the meaning of the remission of the insurer's liability for inherent defects according to "liability without fault" in the civil law, as follows:

Even though there are no fault of the insured about the happening of risks, they should be liable for the damages resulted from within the subject-matter, which is in their possession. For instance, the insured in marine or fire insurance should take liability, as the owner of the subject-matters such as cargo or com-

⁹ In this case it is often difficult to know the definite rate of risk about some kinds of cargo.

¹⁰ Piccard et Besson, *loc. cit.*, p. 96.

¹¹ About "general clauses" cf. Maitani, *The Study of the Character of the general clause*, (in Japanese) 1953 (esp. p. 468 and the following).

¹² But some of French professors acknowledge the idea of liability of the insured in such cases. (*L'assuré est responsable du fait de sa chose*—Ripert N. 2707).

modities, for the damages by inherent defects of them.¹³ And the basic reason that supports this conclusion comes from the idea of equity. We can explain clearly by this idea I believe, about the reason of no liability of the insurer for the losses by inherent defects.

III. *Inherent Defect and its Causality*

I wonder how we should take the causality existing between such risks and damages in the case when the remission of the insurer's liability is prescribed for damages by inherent defects of the subject-matter insured, as it is in the regulation of the above-mentioned commercial code or in general clauses.

I think that the remission of the insurer's liability is a kind of restriction of risks, and have not any special nature in it, and there is no objection to decide the causality in this case following general principle.¹⁴ But some professors say the special theory of causality should be applied to in this case.

Its point is that the insurer can get rid of his liability on only its damage owing directly to such a risk, but he can not acknowledge the causality between such a risk and indirect damage, even when happened on the same subject-matter insured.

Dr. Imamura, for instance, insists on as follows. Inherent defect has a kind of risk in its nature, and this is a special nature, and nothing but the revelation of the nature of the subject-matter insured. Therefore, the existence of causality are hard to acknowledge on damages relating indirectly to this revelation, so the insurer can not get off his liability.

I can not but argue against this theory. Even if the inherent defect has a special character, a revelation of the inherent nature of the subject-matter insured,—I have doubt too on such an idea of his—there, I suppose, lies no reason of a special interpretation as above mentioned on the application of the principle of causality, because the special character is a kind of risks.

Namely, as a matter of course, the insurer can not get off his liability when the existence of causality is acknowledged in the damage according to the principle of causality in the law of insurance even for the damage indirectly caused by inherent defects, so far as it occurs within the same subject-matter insured.

For instance, the same thing can be said that other kind of risks such as "War risks", "Risks of Pilferage" are exempted from the insurer's liability in the contract.

Furthermore, according to the law of insurance contract of France (Article 44, Article 33), some professors say that in fire insurance, the insurer should not be got off his liability for the damage due to combustion by fermentation, or spontaneous calorification of the subject-matter insured. For, as I expressed

¹³ The idea of inherent defect involves, in the broader sense, wear and tear, unseaworthiness of ships.

¹⁴ On the theory of causality to be adopted on the contract of insurance against loss, I already, expressed my opinion in my work—"Causal Problems in Fire and Marine Insurances" (The Annals, Oct. 1955).

already (cf.¹⁵ (a)), they have taken the matter that inherent defect of the subject-matter insured is deficient in contingency, so it has no character of risks.

According to this idea, damages by combustion because of inherent defect of the subject-matter insured is caused by Fire (Combustion) itself, and be unable to be attributed to inherent defect.¹⁶

Some French professors in the modern times point out the error of such a interpretation, and say that the insurer should be got rid of his liability for not only damages by fermentation itself of the subject-matter insured, but also damages by combustion resulted from fermentation, and the insurer who answered for fire risks should be liable in such case only when the fire spread to, and injured the other subject-matter insured.¹⁷

If inherent risks or inherent defect and losses occurs within the same subject-matter insured, the insurer can be got rid of his liability for making good the losses as long as an inevitable relationship or natural processes are acknowledged between them, even if the connection of causality is indirectly made, or any intermediate risks may bring results outside the subject-matter insured in its way. For instance, it is so when the cargo, the subject-matter insured happens to cause spontaneous combustion in marine insurance contract, and spread to explosives shipped together, and finally, explosion resulted in complete destruction of the cargo.¹⁸

In English and German judicial precedent or theories, non-liability of the insurer is not limited to direct losses in such cases.¹⁹

¹⁵ Cf. p. 162 *ditto* Dr. Imamura.

¹⁶ This is an opinion written in an explanatory statement of a draft of the current law of insurance contract of France. (Picard et Besson. p. 99).

¹⁷ Picard et Besson, p. 98-100.

¹⁸ A judicial precedent of England on marine insurance. *Taylor v. Dunver* 1869. ("Again, goods thrown overboard in consequence of inherent defect or of the undue development of their inherent qualities (vice propre), cannot be recovered from underwriters using the ordinary form of policy.") (Gow p. 108).

¹⁹ A judicial precedent on motor insurance of America. There are considerable confusions in the view of actual business, but *Shaucross*, the law of motor insurance, 1949 p. 506, is near my view.

ON BIASES OF THE PRICE-DEFLATOR

By Ryotaro Iochi

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I

With the increasing role that price-deflators play in econometric analysis, the delicate numerical effects caused by using deflator-series must be closely scrutinized. In some cases another model-setting of analysis might be preferred at seeing some unexpected results of one model due to the biases of deflator.

The biases of price-deflators¹ can be classified into three types: the model bias, the formula bias and the data bias. By the model bias is meant the sort of biasing effect caused by a model in which the deflator and the deflatand² are related in some function. In ordinary uses the deflator-series are taken as denominators for the deflatand series under the assumption that the factor of price-level is included in the deflatand money value as a product-factor. This assumption, however, is not due where, for instance, the price-level acts as one of the regressors explaining the money value of the regressand. If we apply the denominator form of the deflator to this regression analysis, a sort of model bias is found in this misapplication.

Secondly, the formula type of bias has a connection to the formula used for the construction of the price-deflator. The Laspeyres formula is well-known to have a limitation in its power of expressing the change of the price-level, to the effect that its use as deflator includes this second type of bias. We can, however, neglect these first two types of bias when possible. But the third type of bias can we never neglect in any case. That is the data-bias which stems inevitably from the discrepancies on the nature of data between the deflatand and the deflator. As a matter of course we try to select appropriate deflator-series so as to fit well to the nature of the deflatand-series. Nevertheless there are apt to remain some discrepancies between the two series—e.g. the total expenditure of a family as the deflatant and the Consumers' Price Indices as deflator, in the point of their "coverage". This sort of discrepancies will be ever deepened so long as the Laspeyres formula will hold without any revision of the weight-system.

Among these three the third type, the data bias type, will be treated in this paper, the other two being put aside for the time being.

¹ The writer intends to include under the term "deflator" many sorts.....such as population-deflator, family-size deflators, quality-deflators, etc., so that the commonly used one to change money-term into real term is duly specified as the "price-deflator."

² The term "deflatand" is used in this paper after the usage of "regressand" and "predictand" in the regression analysis (Wald) and forecasting (Hotelling) respectively.

II

The biasing effect of the third type, the data bias, can be decomposed into a few elements, each of which bears its economic meaning as shown below. Denoting the deflatand (some sort of money value in t -period) by $V_t = \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_t$ and the deflator (some sort of price-index) by P_{0t} , we can set the deflating operation as

$$V'_t = V_t / P_{0t}$$

where the real value V'_t gets influenced by the data-biases from the existence of discrepancies which may arise between the Σ 's, p 's and q 's in the deflator and the $\hat{\Sigma}$'s, \hat{p} 's and \hat{q} 's in the deflatand. The signs (\wedge) on the symbol of the deflatand are called the "deflatand-signs".

By inserting necessary intermediate terms, we can derive the following identity which expresses an analysis of the deflator-bias in the data type:

$$V'_t = V_t / P_{0t} = \alpha \cdot \beta \cdot \gamma \cdot Q_{0t} \cdot V_0 \dots\dots\dots (A)$$

The process of derivation together with the definitions used are as follows: the price-deflator P_{0t} is assumed for the time being to be the Laspeyres type, $P_{0t} = \Sigma p_t q_0 / \Sigma p_0 q_0$. This whole argument still holds, if the type of the index be different.

$$\begin{aligned} V'_t &= \frac{V_t}{P_{0t}} = \frac{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_t}{\frac{\Sigma p_t q_0}{\Sigma p_0 q_0}} \\ &= \frac{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_t}{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_t} \cdot \frac{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t q_t}{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t q_t} \cdot \frac{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t q_t}{\Sigma p_t q_t} \cdot \frac{\Sigma p_t q_t}{\Sigma p_t q_0} \cdot \frac{\Sigma p_0 q_0}{\hat{\Sigma} p_0 q_0} \cdot \frac{\hat{\Sigma} p_0 q_0}{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 q_0} \cdot \frac{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 q_0}{\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_0} \cdot \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_0 \\ &\quad \quad \quad (1) \quad \quad \quad (2) \quad \quad \quad (3) \quad \quad \quad (4) \quad \quad \quad (5) \quad \quad \quad (6) \quad \quad \quad (7) \quad \quad \quad (8) \end{aligned}$$

Now we may, firstly, take up the (I)-term and the (7)-term in the right hand side of this analysing equation. Comparing the denominator with the numerator of these two ratios, we find only one difference in the sign put upon the q 's. The deflatand may be some total value of production and, if so, the \hat{q} 's therein must consequently denote the quantity of production; while the q 's in the deflator may commonly be expected to denote the quantity of transactions, not that of production, since the usual price-index (e.g. the whole sale price indices) is designed according to the transaction standard. Under such a circumstance the (7)-term turns to be a sort of composite ratio which shows how many percent out of the total quantity of production were put to market in the base period, while the (I)-term is the inverse ratio of the same nature for the current period. Therefore, denoting those composite ratios for both periods respectively by β_0 and β_t , we get from (7) and (I)

$$\beta_0 = \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 q_0 / \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_0, \text{ and } \beta_t = \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t q_t / \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_t.$$

Each of these two ratios, which means in their general form some sort of quantity structure, in each period may be unity and disappear from the identity (A), if we are to deflate total expenditures of average family by the consumers'

price indexes, where both q 's included in the deflatand and deflator are the same in nature, namely, the quantity purchased by the family. In general, however, both β_0 and β_t would remain other than unity. so that it is worth while giving them the name of "quantity structure ratios" for the respective period. And the β in the identity (A) is nothing but an inverse index of the over-time change of the quantity structure ratio, i.e.

$$\beta = \beta_0 / \beta_t = (I) \times (7).$$

This inverse index, β , we tentatively call the "coefficient of quantity structure change," or " β coefficient".

Next, we can derive in the similar way from (2)-and (6)-terms what we should like to call the "price diversity ratios," γ_0 and γ_t , and, by combining the two ratios, get the "coefficient of price diversity change" or simply the " γ coefficient":

$$\gamma = \gamma_0 / \gamma_t = (2) \times (6).$$

Quite similarly we can get the "coefficient of coverage change" or " α coefficient" by combining the two coverages, α_0 and α_t , for the base and current periods, which come directly from (3)-and (5)-terms :

$$\alpha = \alpha_0 / \alpha_t = (3) \times (5).$$

There still remain two unexplained terms, (4) and (8). The latter $\hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_0$ indicates the money value for the deflatand in the base period, that is V_0 , according to the notation of $V_t = \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_t$. The former, the (4) item, is nothing but a sort of quantity index in the form of Paasche: $Q_{0t} = \Sigma p_t q_t / \Sigma p_t q_0$. This quantity index, however, is what we can get directly from the price deflator itself by using the same p 's, q 's and Σ 's included in the deflator. Therefore, if the deflator is of the Laspeyres type, the derived quantity index is of the the Paasche type and, if the deflator is of the Paasche type, the derived index is the Laspeyres, and so on.

Thus each of the analysed terms can be explained and combined as the product-component into the identity (A). What the identity tells us is that the deflated amount, V'_t , can be explained as the multiplication-product of those five elements: the coefficient coverage change " α ", the coefficient of quantity structure change " γ ", the coefficient of price diversity change " β ", the derived quantity index " Q_{0t} " and the base-period money value of the deflatand, " V_0 ". Of course it is not true that all of the five elements always appear in deflating operations. We may easily see that the first three elements, α , β and γ , can take the value of unity if we choose the deflator so as to keep away any sort of discrepancies against the deflatand in the sense of data biases. But the latter two, Q_{0t} and V_0 , do not disappear in any case. The identity (A) can be shrunk into the identity (B), when the first three components take the value of unity at the same time:

$$V'_t = Q_{0t} \cdot V_0 \dots\dots\dots (B)$$

The identity (B) shows us the fundamental interpretation of the "real term" or the "deflated amount" which is essentially still a money amount (namely, the money amount, V_0 , multiplied by a quantity-change, Q_{0t}), but its over-time change is parallel to the quantity-change expressed by Q_{0t} (because the base-period amount V_0 is constant over-time). It is for this reason that the combina-

tion of Q_{0t} and V_0 should be duly called the essential part of the deflator-effect, while the other three coefficients, α , β and γ , are better called the biasing parts, because the fundamental part may be biased by their non-unity values, if any.

III

Let us now consider how these parts work in a dynamic economy.

The first bias-coefficient α was defined as a ratio of the base-period coverage α_0 to the current-period coverage α_t : the coverage was in its turn conceived after the common usage, that is, the ratio of the total money amount of index-items to the total money amount of the whole items from among which the index items are selected.

It will be convenient to start from a situation in which we are going to deflate a series of national total amounts of production by a series of wholesale price indices. In designing a price index number, items are usually so selected as to achieve as high a coverage as possible, but as time goes on, new goods may appear, so that the whole extent of production grows larger and larger, and the current coverage α_t becomes smaller than the base-period coverage α_0 . Thus the following relations come into effect:

$$\alpha_0 > \alpha_t, \quad \alpha = \frac{\alpha_0}{\alpha_t} > 1.$$

The possible biasing effect caused by the degree in which α is found larger than unity, may be all the more marked when we deal with the long-term growth of economy.

The result, however, may be somewhat different when we start from another model of deflating operation. If the deflatand-series be some sort of money amount with smaller scope than included in the deflator, e.g. a series of money amount of construction, the α coefficient could be smaller than unity. For, in such a model the extent of the denominator amount in α_0 and α_t , i.e. $\hat{\Sigma} p_0 q_0$ and $\hat{\Sigma} p_t q_t$, is small and definite so that the possible over-time changes come merely from " p " and " q ".

The second coefficient β , which was defined as the ratio of the quantity structure ratio β_0 for the base-period to that for the current period β_t , is of the nature that it can vanish away in ordinary deflating operation, if we carefully select deflator series appropriate to the situation. But in such a case as deflating the national total amount of agricultural production by the price-indices of agricultural products, this coefficient plays an important role. Here the \hat{q} 's in the deflatand denote the quantity produced where as the \hat{q} 's in the deflator denote their quantity put to market, so that β_0 and β_t are qualified to denote the rate of merchandization for the respective period. And it is easy to deduce that β_t grows larger than β_0 as the money economy develops in rural society and consequently that the β coefficient tends to become smaller than unity.

$$\beta_0 < \beta_t, \quad \beta = \frac{\beta_0}{\beta_t} < 1.$$

By the way, the β for the industrial products can be interpreted as the synthetic rate of shipment, rather than of marchandization, and may, as such, fluctuate around unity as the business cycles proceed. Thus it is highly probable that $\beta > 1$ in a boom, while $\beta < 1$ in a depression.

The third bias coefficient is the one of price diversity change, γ . Formally speaking, this is what we can derive by substituting the p 's for the q 's in the context of β coefficient. But as the p 's are the central factor in the price-deflator problem, we can select a deflator-series just appropriate to the deflator-series so that the price diversity may vanish. It seems, therefore, that there arises no problem. But we know many cases where we are obliged to use a wrong deflator conciously, e.g. when consistent deflators are desirable for each part of the gross national expenditures, some part of which requires to use the consumers' price index and some the wholesale price index, or when we want to deflate a money amount for some remote area and have no deflator-series appropriate to that area, and so on.

Once this γ coefficient matters, it shows no definite inclination as seen in α and β . We have no other way than to consider its special behavior according to each case.

IV

Thus we are in the position to say that the deflated money amount V'_t suffers biases in value to the extent that those bias-coefficients reviewed above are other than unity. For instance, when $\alpha = 1.3$, other coefficients keeping unity, then the size of V'_t is found to contain a 30% upward-bias. In order to make such an interpretation effective, it is now highly necessary to examine what the fundamental part of the deflated amount ($Q_{0t} \cdot V_0$) does imply. By a slight change of the identity (B) we get

$$V_{0t} = V_t / V_0 = P_{0t} \cdot Q_{0t} \dots\dots\dots (C).$$

This is the well-known identity showing the index of total amounts equals to the product of price index and quantity index. Of course the type of price index must hold a close relation to that of quantity index in this identity in the following way: if P_{0t} is of the Laspeyres type, Q_{0t} necessarily turns out to be of the Paasche, and if P_{0t} is the Paasche, type Q_{0t} is in its turn Laspeyres.³ We have to pay special attention to the latter case, where Q_{0t} takes the type of Laspeyres and, in combination with V_0 , can transform the V'_t amount in (B) into the so-called "amount revaluated by the constant prices":

$$V'_t = Q_{0t} \cdot V_0 = (\Sigma p_0 q_t / \Sigma p_0 q_0) \cdot \Sigma p_0 q_0 = \Sigma p_0 q_t.$$

Some writers with this relation recommend that the price index as deflator is to

³ Moreover, if P_{0t} = Fisher's type, then Q_{0t} = Fisher's too and if P_{0t} is of the Edgeworth type, then Q_{0t} takes the following form:

$$V'_t = \Sigma p_t q_t / \frac{\Sigma p_t (q_0 + q_t)}{\Sigma p_0 (q_0 + q_t)} = \frac{(1 + Q_{(L)}) \cdot Q_{(P)}}{1 + Q_{(P)}} \cdot V_0,$$

which keeps the necessary dimension for the quantity index.

take the type of Paasche's so that the derived quantity index can take the Laspeyres type. Since the deflatand-signs on the p 's and q 's of V_0 are missed here, this recommendation must be called premature. But we would like to say that this recommendation is powerful enough, not in its numerical effect, but by its existence, to show the nature of the real value or the amount in the real term.

The problem here, however, lies in the discrepancies in the deflatand-signs between Q_{0t} and V_0 . If, in the identity (A), the three bias coefficients are all unity, no problem will arise. On the contrary, if any of those coefficients be other than unity, the discrepancy is sure to arise between Q_{0t} and V_0 . Essentially speaking, the quantity index Q_{0t} must be constructed in accordance with the contents of V_0 as follows: $\hat{Q}_{0t} = \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_t / \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_0$, for example. \hat{Q}_{0t} is not always Q_{0t} . Therefore in order to make the interpretation effective that the amount in real term is nothing but the base-period amount of the deflatand multiplied by the over-time quantity-change, the original identity (A) should be written as

$$V'_t = \alpha \cdot \beta \cdot \gamma \cdot \delta \cdot \hat{Q}_{0t} \cdot V_0, \quad \delta = Q_{0t} / \hat{Q}_{0t}.$$

A new coefficient δ has appeared here and the biasing part comes to consist of four elements, the product of which can be rewritten as

$$\alpha \beta \gamma \delta = \hat{P}_{0t} / P_{0t}, \text{ where } \hat{P}_{0t} = \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_t \hat{q}_0 / \hat{\Sigma} \hat{p}_0 \hat{q}_0 \text{ for instance.}$$

Consequently $V'_t = (\hat{P}_{0t} / P_{0t}) \cdot \hat{Q}_{0t} \cdot V_0$.

This tells us a self-evident story that the whole bias problem dealt with above was caused by the simple fact that we used a wrong deflator P_{0t} , instead of the right one, \hat{P}_{0t} . And to make the matter worse, the fourth coefficient appeared on the scene with a disturbing effect to the above-developed analysis: that is, δ does not change its value dependently on α , β and γ .

So the theory runs. In truth, the situation comes from the mere manipulation of an identity. The whole argument developed, however, is detailed enough, we believe, to imply something to the practise of econometric analysis. For one thing, our identity (A) can work efficiently enough, if $\hat{Q}_{0t} \doteq Q_{0t}$, or $\delta \doteq 1$. If the assumption does not hold, we will be able to improve the exactness of the deflating operations through some possible short-cut estimations of the coverage change, the rates of merchandization, etc., without designing specific \hat{P}_{0t} 's for ever-changing individual cases.⁴

⁴ The writer obtained numerical facts from the C.P.I. data in Japan to the effect that the coverage-change coefficient α for 1955, the base-year being 1951, showed 1.12 for the general index and reached as high as 1.4 for housing, clothing, etc.

CHANGES OVER TIME OF PRODUCTION AND ADDED VALUE

— A Special Problem of Index Number Theory —

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1. Introduction

In order to estimate the rate of change over time of added value, we make very often use of production index instead of added value statistics, when we are engaged in the work of, say, the prediction of national income in the future period. We do so because the statistics of production index are more easily available than those of added value, and what is especially important, the former are classified into more detailed industries. This makes them absolutely indispensable. Is it right, then, that we should regard the changes of production indices as equivalent or parallel to those of added value indices if we can properly devise to construct the latter theoretically? We are rather difficult to find out studies about this problem at the present stage, which it is the purpose of the present paper to analyse.

Firstly we try to get the relationship between the production index of the theoretical Laspeyres type which is defined as the mean of individual production indices weighted with the value of production and that of the usual Laspeyres type weighted with values added.

We, then, adopt a new definition of added value index as a measure of changes over time of added value, and prove that such an index can almost be looked upon as that which shows a real level of added value.

Lastly, we verify that the usual method of measuring variations of added value by means of production indices is correct.

2. Meaning of Production Indices

It is quite clear that any production index measures changes over time of physical quantities of production whatever type it may take. Production index of Laspeyres type is, of course, written as follows:

$$Q_L \equiv \frac{\sum p_0 q_1}{\sum p_0 q_0}, \quad (1)$$

where Q_L represents a production index of Laspeyres type, and p_0 is the price of the base period 0, q_0 , q_1 are respectively the quantities of the base period 0 and

the current period 1. Rewriting equation (1),

$$Q_L = \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0}{\sum w_0}, \quad w_0 \equiv p_0 q_0, \quad (2)$$

where q_1/q_0 is the quantity index of an individual item.

The customary production index, on the other hand, is weighted with the values added in the base period, v_0 , instead of the values of production, w_0 . That is, in place of (2),

$$Q_L' \equiv \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) v_0}{\sum v_0}. \quad (3)$$

If we then take the difference between (2) and (3),

$$\begin{aligned} Q_L - Q_L' &= \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0}{\sum w_0} - \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) v_0}{\sum v_0} \\ &= \frac{\sum v_0 \cdot \sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0 - \sum w_0 \cdot \sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) v_0}{\sum w_0 \cdot \sum v_0}, \end{aligned}$$

therefore, according to the following inequality,

$$\sum v_0 \cdot \sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0 \geq \sum w_0 \cdot \sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) v_0, \quad (4)$$

we can derive

$$Q_L \geq Q_L'. \quad (5)$$

Added value is, generally, defined as the difference between the value of production, w , and the inputs except wage, interest, etc. necessary for its production, c , and then $v = w - c$.¹ Taking this relation into our consideration,

$$\sum (w_0 - c_0) \cdot \sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0 \geq \sum w_0 \cdot \sum \left[\frac{q_1}{q_0} (w_0 - c_0) \right],$$

or, we can reduce from the above,

$$\frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) c_0}{\sum c_0} \leq \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0}{\sum w_0}. \quad (6)$$

The right-hand side of the equation (6) is, as a matter of course, the theoretical Laspeyres formula which is equivalent to the equation (2). Its left-hand side is, on the contrary, the mean of individual production indices weighted with the costs of inputs, which we conveniently denote Q_L'' , i.e.,

$$Q_L'' \equiv \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) c_0}{\sum c_0}. \quad (7)$$

Now we call Q_L'' a production index weighted with the costs of inputs, or shortly, a cost-of-input-weighted index. For the sake of contrast, let us call Q_L and

¹ $v = w - c$ is gross product. If it is necessary to take such a v as net product, we must add depreciation to c . But the results which come hereafter are the same whether we consider it or not.

Q_L' a theoretical production index and an added-value-weighted production index respectively.

We express (6) in ordinary language; according as the cost-of-input-weighted index, Q_L'' is greater than, equal to, or smaller than the theoretical production index, Q_L , the latter is greater than, equal to, or smaller than added-value-weighted production index, Q_L' .

Since Σw_0 and Σv_0 are both constants,

$$Q_L = \frac{\Sigma \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0}{W_0} = \Sigma \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) \left(\frac{w_0}{W_0} \right),$$

$$Q_L' = \frac{\Sigma \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) v_0}{V_0} = \Sigma \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) \left(\frac{v_0}{V_0} \right),$$

where $W_0 = \Sigma w_0$, $V_0 = \Sigma v_0$. Subtracting the second equation from the first,

$$Q_L - Q_L' = \Sigma \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) \left(\frac{w_0}{W_0} - \frac{v_0}{V_0} \right). \quad (8)$$

If we can assume $w_0/W_0 \cong v_0/V_0$ as to every item, $Q_L \cong Q_L'$, but we cannot generally admit this inequality. It is impossible, then, to determine the unique relationship between Q_L and Q_L' .

3. Added Value Index

Now, we define our added value index as a measure of the changes over time of value added, but we must pay our attention to the fact that there are two kinds of added value indices, the one quantity index, and the other price index, just as in the ordinary indices. In the present paper, however, added value index always means quantity index of added value. We must, moreover, define the quantity of added value, i. e., real added value. For this purpose, we divide monetary added value by the price of the output in question. Then, added value index is defined as the mean of individual real added value indices weighted with the added value of each commodity in the base period.

The individual added value index of the i th commodity is given by

$$\frac{p_1^{(i)} q_1^{(i)} - c_1^{(i)}}{p_1^{(i)}} \bigg/ \frac{p_0^{(i)} q_0^{(i)} - c_0^{(i)}}{p_0^{(i)}}.$$

Then, added value index V is defined in the Laspeyres type as,

$$V = \frac{\Sigma \left(\frac{p_1 q_1 - c_1}{p_1} \bigg/ \frac{p_0 q_0 - c_0}{p_0} \right) v_0}{\Sigma v_0}, \quad (9)$$

or, more concisely,

$$V = \frac{\Sigma \left(\frac{p_0}{p_1} \right) (p_1 q_1 - c_1)}{\Sigma (p_0 q_0 - c_0)}. \quad (10)$$

If, in this case,

$$\frac{p_1'}{p_0'} = \frac{p_1''}{p_0''} = \dots = \frac{p_1^{(n)}}{p_0^{(n)}} = P_{01},$$

we can derive the following relation,

$$V = \frac{\Sigma(p_1 q_1 - c_1)}{P_{01}} \bigg/ \frac{\Sigma(p_0 q_0 - c_0)}{P_{00}}, \quad (11)$$

where P_{01} is the price index of the Laspeyres type, i. e.,

$$P_{01} = \frac{\Sigma\left(\frac{p_1}{p_0}\right)v_0}{\Sigma v_0}.$$

It is quite clear that $P_{00}=1$. Relation (11) is somewhat important in the customary sense, because we usually get added value index by dividing the real added value in the current period by that in the base period. As is clear, however, from the above mentioned, the ordinary method is correct so far as individual price indices are all equal to one another.

In order to see what the added value index (9) or (10) means, we now define a functional added value index. One of the true added value indices, I , is that which is the ratio of the added value in the current period, A_1 , to that in the base period, A_0 , which has the same price system as the former,² i. e.,

$$I \equiv A_1/A_0. \quad (12)$$

Let c be the cost of materials and intermediate products and r be such a cost per unit output, then we get $r_0=c_0/q_0$ in the base period and $r_1=c_1/q_1$ in the current. The contents of such a cost are understood to be the following,

$$c_0 = \pi_0' x_0' + \pi_0'' x_0'' + \dots + \pi_0^{(m)} x_0^{(m)} = \Sigma \pi_0 x_0,$$

$$c_1 = \pi_1' x_1' + \pi_1'' x_1'' + \dots + \pi_1^{(m)} x_1^{(m)} = \Sigma \pi_1 x_1,$$

where x' , x'' , ..., $x^{(m)}$ are quantities of materials and intermediate products used and π' , π'' , ..., $\pi^{(m)}$ their respective prices. Further, the monetary value of materials and intermediate products in the current period which have the same prices as those in the base period is, of course,

$$c_1' = \pi_0' x_1' + \pi_0'' x_1'' + \dots + \pi_0^{(m)} x_1^{(m)} = \Sigma \pi_0 x_1.$$

The r 's in the base period and the current are respectively

$$r_0 = c_0/q_0 = (\Sigma \pi_0 x_0)/q_0,$$

$$r_1 = c_1/q_1 = (\Sigma \pi_1 x_1)/q_1,$$

and r'_1 is defined as

$$r'_1 \equiv c_1'/q_1 = (\Sigma \pi_0 x_1)/q_1.$$

A true added value index I will be, according to its definition,

$$I = \frac{A_1}{A_0} = \frac{\Sigma(p_0 - r_1')q_1}{\Sigma(p_0 - r_0)q_0}. \quad (13)$$

² We have no intention to say that the definition of the true added value index (12) is a unique one, but we cannot help admitting it very hard to define it in the economic sense, for economic behavior has nothing to do with the maximization of added value as far as an individual firm is concerned.

Let us now take the difference between V of (10) and I of (13), then we get the following relation,

$$\begin{aligned} V-I &= \frac{\sum^n \left[\frac{p_0}{p_1} (p_1 - r_1) q_1 - (p_0 - r_1') q_1 \right]}{\sum^n (p_0 q_0 - c_0)} \\ &= \frac{\sum^n \left(r_1' - \frac{p_0 r_1}{p_1} \right) q_1}{\sum^n (p_0 q_0 - c_0)} \\ &= \frac{\sum^n \left(\sum^m \pi_0 x_1 - \frac{p_0}{p_1} \sum^m \pi_1 x_1 \right)}{\sum^n (p_0 q_0 - c_0)}. \end{aligned} \quad (14)$$

Since, generally $\sum^n (p_0 q_0 - c_0) > 0$,

$$D = \sum^m \pi_0 x_1 - \frac{p_0^{(j)}}{p_1^{(j)}} \sum^m \pi_1 x_1 \geq 0 \quad (j=1, 2, \dots, n) \quad (15)$$

in order that $V \geq I$. (15) is a strong condition for this inequality. Rewriting (15),

$$D = \sum^n \left(\frac{\pi_0}{p_0^{(j)}} - \frac{\pi_1}{p_1^{(j)}} \right) p_0^{(j)} x_1 \geq 0. \quad (16)$$

We take, then, the profit function of the j th firm. In the base period, the profit function $g_0^{(j)}$ is,

$$g_0^{(j)} = p_0^{(j)} q_0^{(j)} - \sum^m \pi_0 x_0 - B_0^{(j)},$$

and in the current period, $g_1^{(j)}$ is

$$g_1^{(j)} = p_1^{(j)} q_1^{(j)} - \sum^m \pi_1 x_1 - B_1^{(j)},$$

where $B_0^{(j)}$ and $B_1^{(j)}$ are totals of the productive services in the base period and in the current respectively, which we assume to be constant with respect to x 's from social point of view. The conditions of maximizing profit are, of course,

$$\begin{cases} \frac{\partial g_0^{(j)}}{\partial x_0^{(i)}} = p_0^{(j)} \cdot \frac{\partial q_0^{(j)}}{\partial x_0^{(i)}} - \pi_0^{(i)} = 0, \\ \frac{\partial g_1^{(j)}}{\partial x_1^{(i)}} = p_1^{(j)} \cdot \frac{\partial q_1^{(j)}}{\partial x_1^{(i)}} - \pi_1^{(i)} = 0. \end{cases}$$

From the above equations, we get

$$\begin{cases} \frac{\partial q_0^{(j)}}{\partial x_0^{(i)}} = \frac{\pi_0^{(i)}}{p_0^{(j)}}, \\ \frac{\partial q_1^{(j)}}{\partial x_1^{(i)}} = \frac{\pi_1^{(i)}}{p_1^{(j)}}, \end{cases} \quad (17)$$

$\partial q_0^{(j)} / \partial x_0^{(i)}$ and $\partial q_1^{(j)} / \partial x_1^{(i)}$ are respectively marginal productivities of the i th material or intermediate product which are used by the j th firm. Some of such productivities in the current period are greater than those in the base period owing to the introduction of new techniques on the one hand, and some of them become nil, on the other, because of the disappearance of materials or intermediate products in the current period which were actually used in the base period.

Taking this fact into consideration, it is impossible to determine which are greater, marginal productivities in the base period or those in the current. Now we denote $\left(\frac{\pi_0}{p_0^{(j)}} - \frac{\pi_1}{p_1^{(j)}}\right)p_0^{(j)}x_1$ in (16) by R , and maximum in R by R_{max} , minimum by R_{min} . We, then, get the following relation,

$$mR_{max} \geq \sum \left(\frac{\pi_0}{p_0^{(j)}} - \frac{\pi_1}{p_1^{(j)}} \right) p_0^{(j)} x_1 \geq mR_{min} \quad (18)$$

The more the development of techniques of production is achieved, the greater the difference between R_{max} and R_{min} becomes. R_{max} will be positive, and R_{min} will be liable to be negative. From inequality (18), we can conclude that D becomes zero or near to it. Even if otherwise, it will not be so great as R_{max} or R_{min} in absolute value. From this conclusion, we are able to say that the added value index V in (9) or (10) is equal to or near to the true added value index V defined by (12) or (13).

4. Changes Over Time of Production Index and Added Value Index

We classify this problem into two, one of which is to get the relation of variations over time of the theoretical production index (1) with those of added value index (10), and the other of which is to consider the relation of variations over time of added-value-weighted production index (3) with those of added value index (10).

A. Theoretical Index and Added Value Index

Let us examine what effect will happen to the index, when the quantity produced of the i th item in the current period changes. In order to look at it, we differentiate (1) partially with respect to $q_1^{(i)}$. That is,

$$\frac{\partial Q_L}{\partial q_1^{(i)}} = \frac{\partial}{\partial q_1^{(i)}} \frac{\sum \left(\frac{q_1}{q_0} \right) w_0}{\sum w_0} = \frac{p_0^{(i)}}{\sum w_0} \quad (19)$$

In order to see the effect which is caused by a change in $q_1^{(i)}$, we, likewise, differentiate (10) partially with respect to $q_1^{(i)}$, and get

$$\frac{\partial V}{\partial q_1^{(i)}} = \frac{\left(\frac{p_0^{(i)}}{p_1^{(i)}} \right) (p_1^{(i)} - \partial c_1^{(i)} / \partial q_1^{(i)})}{\sum (p_0 q_0 - c_0)}$$

In this case, we assume that p and q are independent each other. Such an assumption will be allowed in the system which Prof. R. Frisch called atomistic approach.³ Further- more, marginal productivity $\partial c_1^{(i)} / \partial q_1^{(i)}$ is assumed to be zero from the viewpoint aforementioned. The above equation then becomes,

$$\frac{\partial V}{\partial q_1^{(i)}} = \frac{p_0^{(i)}}{\sum (p_0 q_0 - c_0)} = \frac{p_0^{(i)}}{\sum v_0} \quad (20)$$

³ R. Frisch, Annual Survey of General Economic Theory: The Problem of Index Numbers, *Econometrica*, Jan. 1936, p. 3.

If we multiply $p_0^{(i)}/\Sigma v_0$, the right-hand side of (20) by $\Sigma v_0/\Sigma w_0$, the ratio of total added value to the total value of production, we get the same as the right-hand side of (19). This shows that the effect of any change in q on the theoretical production index is a multiple of its effect on the added value index, the multiplier of which is a constant and just equal to the aggregate income ratio to production, $\Sigma v_0/\Sigma w_0$. This conclusion is important when we make use of such a theoretical production index in case of estimating a dynamic change of added value.

B. Changes of Added-value-weighted Production Index and Added Value Index

The effect of any change in $q_1^{(i)}$ in the added-value-weighted index (3) is given by the partial differentiation of this index with respect to $q_1^{(i)}$. The result is,

$$\frac{\partial Q_L'}{\partial q_1^{(i)}} = \frac{v_0^{(i)}/q_0^{(i)}}{\Sigma v_0}.$$

Since this is an individual effect as to $q_1^{(i)}$, we can get the aggregate effects of all changes in $q_1^{(i)}$ by summing up the right-hand side of the above expression weighted with $q_1^{(i)}$:

$$\frac{\Sigma(v_0^{(i)}/q_0^{(i)} \cdot q_0^{(i)})}{\Sigma v_0} = \frac{\Sigma v_0}{\Sigma v_0} = 1. \quad (21)$$

If, on the other hand, we sum up the right-hand side of (20) in the same way, we get the result as follows,

$$\frac{\Sigma p_0^{(i)} q_0^{(i)}}{\Sigma v_0} = \frac{\Sigma w_0}{\Sigma v_0}. \quad (22)$$

By comparing (21) with (22), we arrive at the conclusion that the aggregate effects of all changes in $q_1^{(i)}$ on the added-value-weighted production index are a multiple of such aggregate effects on the added value index, the multiplier of which is a constant and equal to the aggregate income ratio to production, $\Sigma v_0/\Sigma w_0$. This result deserves our special attention because we can avail such an added-value-weighted production index for the purpose of estimating changes over time of added value as we usually do.

THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS AND THE THEORY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By Yoichi Itagaki

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I Two Approaches to the Theory of Economic Development

Generally, there are two ways of approach to the problem of economic development in Asia. One is the economic in which the area concerned is characterized as "underdeveloped countries", and the other the sociological defining the area as "backward countries".¹ Needless to say, these two are closely inter-related. Yet it is essentially important to distinguish one from the other in that "underdeveloped" signifies the resources, and "backward" the people.²

Those who define the area covered by economic development programmes as "underdeveloped countries" indicate the principal features of this area as the low national income *per capita* (poverty), low ratio of industrial output to total output and of industrial population to total population (pre-industrialization), or relative shortage of capital and equipment as compared with population and resources (scarcity of capital).³

Without doubt these three features are correlative, and owing to the shortage of capital, industrialization does not progress, and because of this standstill the level of income *per capita* remains low. Therefore, it may be natural for those taking this viewpoint to regard the raise of income *per capita*, accumulation of capital, or advancement of industrialization as important indicators of the economic development of underdeveloped countries. The report by the United Nations experts and most economic theorists share this viewpoint.⁴

It seems impossible, however, to say that basic issues of the theory of economic development of backward countries can be accurately grasped by the above-mentioned view and indicators of development.

According to Prof. Myint at Rangoon University, the problem of the so-called "underdeveloped countries" means not only that of "underdevelopment

¹ Cf. The author's article "A Review of Recent Literature on the Theory of Economic Development in Backward Countries" (in Japanese), *Hitotsubashi Ronso*. Vol. 33, No. 2. February 1954. pp. 38-69.

² H. Myint, An Interpretation of Economic Backwardness. *Oxford Economic Papers*. New Series. Vol. 6, No. 2. June 1954. p. 142.

³ Jacob Viner, *International Trade and Economic Development*. Oxford, 1953. pp. 94-98.; Ragnar Nurkse, *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries*. Oxford, 1953. p. 1.

⁴ United Nations, *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries*. New York, May 1951.

of resources" in the ordinary sense, but also that of "economic backwardness of people". Naturally underdevelopment of resources and backwardness of people are closely connected and collaborate in aggravating the vicious circle. But the real issues of backwardness are often lost to sight, and the problem of backwardness is apt to be substituted for that of underdevelopment. The problem of backwardness presents a specific sphere which cannot be covered by the concept of "underdevelopment of human resources". Thus he urges the necessity to recognize the problem of backwardness as a major problem in its own right, and to break with the conventional notion of underdeveloped countries. He emphasizes that this is the right course in approaching the heart of the problem of economic development of today.⁵

Prof. Myint's proposition is quite significant. First of all, he tries to investigate the cause of the stagnation that is characterized by low productivity and low level of real income *per capita*, although he does not disapprove of the objective fact of the low level of the income in backward countries. It seems impossible to explain the stagnation only from the viewpoint of the shortage of capital investment. There exist many reasons which make it impossible for us to automatically apply to backward countries such programmes as are designed to increase the gross national product or the real income *per capita* at a certain fixed rate, based on the calculation of the amount of capital investment necessary, which is deduced from the capital required *per capita*, while such programmes are applicable to advanced countries. The reason is as follows. Generally, in advanced countries, a given amount of net investment can produce a process of spontaneous economic growth in the form of increase in the total amount of products or productive capacity in proportion to the capital invested, through the technical amelioration and rise of productivity, whereas in backward countries such a presumption as above is impracticable with the primary question being how to *initiate* such an economic process itself.

Therefore, it is rather mechanistic to place too much importance on the part played by capital investment as the sole means to raise the level of the national income of backward countries, calculating the total or *per capita* income of these countries and comparing these figures with those of European and American countries. It seems rather meaningless to say that about 19 billion dollars are required to raise national income *per capita* in the backward countries by 2 per cent annually, chiefly applying the mechanical process of economic development.⁶ The realities of investment in the backward countries do not justify such a simplification, and it must not be considered that economic development can be stimulated only by introducing the western pattern of economic activities, and

⁵ H. Myint, op. cit., p. 142.

⁶ S. H. Frankel, *The Economic Impact on Under-developed Societies*. Cambridge, 1953. pp. 100-101. "Capital investment *per se* does not originate anything other than the capital expenditure itself. It is people, who, if they possess the disposition, aptitudes, experience and knowledge, and if they find suitable environmental opportunities, alone can *originate* anything at all." He severely criticizes the authors of the United Nations Report on the Measures for the Economic Development, saying that they are indulging in a mere "intellectual exercise". (p. 95)

that the process of development will occur spontaneously and inevitably through the rapid and large-scale pouring in of capital.⁷

II *What Economic Backwardness Is*

As seen above, the problem of economic development of backward countries involves specific problems of its own, which are not solvable through a macro-economic approach, which merely takes into consideration the low level of income *per capita* or the increase of investment to raise the level. Now it is necessary for us to clarify the meaning of the so-called "economic backwardness", which is said to form the principal character of backward countries.

As Myint suggests, backward countries are those which cannot "stand on a competitive footing" with advanced countries, in the process of economic struggle, having failed to adapt themselves to the new circumstances shaped by the impact of outside economic forces.⁸

First, the unsuccessful adaptation to the new circumstances is attributable to the lack of voluntary and active attitude for life in backward countries. In this respect, those who take the sociological viewpoint express a very pessimistic opinion on the adaptability of backward people to social and economic changes. As R. Emerson points out relevantly, the Asian people still lack a creative and active attitude to remold their own circumstances—spiritual, material and social—to their own liking, despite every kind of change around them, being restrained by their traditional way of life and thought. Economic progress of society cannot be expected in Asia without a fundamental conversion of way of thinking, from submissive to creative, and from passive to active, as exemplified by the industrial revolution of Europe, which was essentially the product of spiritual revolution of the Western people. The transplantation or the effective application of machines and techniques is impossible without the necessary spiritual attitude and social structure. But, unfortunately, what is most lacking in the realities of Asia is such an active and voluntary way of life.⁹

Secondly, the incompetence to stand on a competitive footing with the advanced countries is caused by the accumulative effects of many "disequalizing factors" which are found working inside the backward countries, and between backward and advanced countries.¹⁰ Such a state of affairs resulted from the fact that, on the one hand, politically most of these Asian countries were dominated by imperialistic advanced countries as their colonies, semi-colonies or dependencies, and that, on the other hand, economically the initial gaps between

⁷ Among UNESCO's publications is a special issue on the comparative study of the "economic sense" of the people in the backward society. UNESCO, *Economic Motivations and Stimulations in Underdeveloped Countries*. *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 3. 1954. pp. 369-476.

⁸ Myint, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁹ Rupert Emerson, *Progress in Asia*, a pessimistic view. *Far Eastern Survey*. August 27, 1952. pp. 129-134.

¹⁰ Myint, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

backward and advanced countries in experience, opportunities, skills and capital supply, far from being diminished, were further widened by the free play of economic forces (the principle of free competition).¹¹ The monopolistic domination by the foreign enterprises and firms, development of mono-culture specializing in primary products for export, and intermediary exploitation by the so-called foreign Asiatics as middlemen or moneylenders in the plural society, all these were made possible in the colonial backward countries through the operation of the above-mentioned political and economic disequalizing factors. Thus the backward people were driven into a very disadvantageous position relative to the roles to be played in the economy, which should be distinguished from the unproportionate distribution of incomes. Here arose the stagnant state of backward people, who were fated to be unskilled workers, peasant producers and constant debtors. So the heart of the problem of economic development in backward countries cannot be dealt with unless we proceed to the problem of the "disequalizing factors" mentioned above, going beyond the problem of the distribution of income.

Viewed from the standpoint of historical and social background, the economic backwardness of Asian countries owes its origin not to the fact that much of the resources are left undeveloped, but that, although resources were rapidly well developed to the extent that market conditions permitted, the people in these countries were prevented from participating in the process of development either due to the operation of the disequalizing factors or to their unwillingness caused by the lack of a positive attitude, or owing to both of them.

III *Patterns of Structural Change in Backward Society* —Gaps between Progress and Welfare—

If the preceding analysis of economic backwardness is admitted to be adequate in the main, the economic development of backward countries, which implies the obviating of such backwardness, has to face two problems which must be solved.

The first is that of social adaptability of the natives to the impact from the outside. It is essential that the problem of economic development of backward countries should be understood, not as a mere problem of "economic process", but as one of "social process", i.e. a problem of a series of far-reaching changes of social structure. Structural change in the backward society means the process

¹¹ G. Myrdal also stresses this point: "Contrary to what the equilibrium theory of international trade would seem to suggest, the play of the market forces does not work towards equality in the remunerations to factors of production and, consequently, in incomes. If left to take its own course, economic development is a process of circular and cumulative causation which tends to award its favours to those who are already well endowed and even to thwart the efforts of those who happen to live in regions that are lagging behind. The Backsetting Effects of economic expansion in other regions dominate the more powerfully, the poorer a country is." Gunnar Myrdal, *Development and Underdevelopment: A Note on the Mechanism of National and International Economic Inequality*. Cairo, 1956. p. 47.

of "disintegration and reintegration" under the economic impact from the outside, which tends to break the old social and economic systems and to bring forth new stable patterns of social and economic behavior. This is the growth process of the activity pattern, the development of which is either encouraged or prevented by the beliefs, aptitudes and wishes of the inhabitants.¹² It is natural that there rises a strong social resistance in the process of the formation of new patterns of behavior acceptable to the society. The intensity of this social resistance reflects the degree of the coherence of the traditional society. Accordingly, the most substantial problem confronting backward countries in the process of social adaptation to the outside impact is the checking and minimizing of unnecessary social disintegration and disharmony, and the creating of new patterns of social activities.

In this connection, it must be noted that the backward society is not a unified and homogeneous one like that of the advanced nation, but a plural and heterogeneous one. Relative to the essential character of the backward society, Dr. J. H. Boeke defined Indonesia as a "dual society", and Prof. J. H. Furnivall characterized Burma as a "plural society", while Prof. S. H. Frankel named South Africa a "multi-racial society". These are three types of backward society, each of which shows typically a pattern of social structural change, that is, "resistance", "transition" and "disintegration" in the process of interaction between modern western elements and pre-modern indigenous elements.

First, according to Boeke, the Indonesian society is a "dual society" where two different "social-economic systems", the "imported western capitalism" and the "pre-capitalistic agrarian community," coexist side by side, and no transitional process takes place. Such a society as this is "closed and stationary" in spite of the economic impact from the outside.¹³

On the contrary, the "multi-racial society" in South Africa as seen by Frankel is a society which is already in the process of rapid modernization, and presents an aspect in which the economic effects of capitalism are penetrating straight into feudalistic and patriarchal native society despite resistance.¹⁴ It may be said that such a society as this is an "open and disintegrating" society under

¹² S. H. Frankel, *The Economic Impact on Under-developed Society: Essays on International Investment and Social Change*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 74.

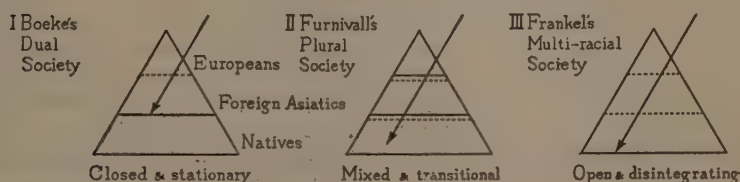
¹³ Dr. Boeke advanced "Dualistische economische theorie" as the theory of the socio-economic analysis of colonies, for the first time, in his thesis for a degree "*Tropisch-Koloniale Staatshuishoudkunde, Het probleem*" (Amsterdam, 1910), and strived constantly to elaborate his theory through many books and treatises.

His recent book "*Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies as Exemplified by Indonesia*" (New York, 1953), which is the English version of "*Economie van Indonesie* (vierde herziene druk, Haarlem 1953), is a representative laborious work comprehensively describing his theory. Once Furnivall made a critical comment on Boeke's theory in his book "*Netherlands India, A Study of Plural Economy*" (Cambridge, 1939, pp. 452-464). Recently, Benjamin Higgins made penetrating criticism on Boeke's theory in his article "The 'Dualistic Theory' of Underdeveloped Areas" (*Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia*, Tahun Ke VIII, No. 2, Februari 1955, pp. 58-78.). I also tried to review and criticize his "Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies as Exemplified by Indonesia" (*Asian Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1956, pp. 304-308.).

¹⁴ S. H. Frankel, *The Economic Impact on Under-developed Societies*. See, especially, part II.

the impact from the outside. If Boeke's society is defined as a "closed system," Frankel's society will be characterized as an "open system".

Finally, Furnivall's "plural society" is composed of three classes of Europeans, foreign Asiatics (overseas Chinese and Indians) and natives.¹⁵ The social and economic status and role of the foreign Asiatics are very highly evaluated by Furnivall. In this plural society, Europeans who are entrepreneurs and technicians form the upper class, overseas Chinese and Indians who are retail-dealers, wholesalers, middlemen and moneylenders the middle class, and the natives, who are peasants and laborers, the lower class. The foreign Asiatics standing between the Europeans and the natives play the role of "competitors" as well as "middlemen" in relation to the Europeans, and function as a buffer which protects the natives from the impact of the modern world, encroaching upon the society of the natives whose economic sense and capability of enterprise are poor, and assuming the complete control of local economies. In such a plural society, the social structural change caused by the impact from the outside does not present itself in such a process of rapid disintegration as is seen in South Africa, but appears in a relatively stable process of transition. The three types of backward society mentioned above may be illustrated as below.



Therefore, the pattern of structural change in the backward society is not always one and the same, but varies from society to society as "closed and stationary" (Boeke), "open and disintegrating" (Frankel) or "mixed and transitional" (Furnivall), so that the types of life and behavior, dual, plural or multiple, are incapable of being homogenized or standardized. What economic development means to the backward countries is to impose an economic impetus upon the society which embraces such heterogeneous types of life and behavior. The

¹⁵ J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India, A Study of Plural Economy*. Cambridge, 1939. pp. 446-469.; *Progress and Welfare in Southeast Asia, A Comparison of Colonial Policy and Practice*, New York, 1951.; *Colonial Policy and Practice, A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*, Cambridge, 1948. pp. 303-312.

The point where Boeke's theory of dual society and Furnivall's one of plural society begin to differ lies in the evaluation of the social and economic role of the foreign Asiatics. Boeke considers the economy of the foreign Asiatics not to form a distinct social-economic system but to be a mere offshoot of the western capitalistic system, while Furnivall lays stress on the function of the economy which mediates between "pre-capitalism" and "advanced capitalism".

economic impetus may be an important factor to promote the economic progress of the society, although the progress cannot be in itself a cause of the welfare of the society, because a basic gap exists between "economic progress" and "social welfare" in the plural society. In a heterogeneous society the essential features of which are a difference in types of life among different races, the antagonism between economic interests which is not controlled by the common social will, and the social tension and separatism intensified by racial and religious antipathy, the gap between progress and welfare becomes more extensive in proportion to the speed of the development.¹⁶

Accordingly, it is meaningless to refer to the abstract concepts of aggregation such as an increase of income *per capita* or a raise of national income by given rate as a target of economic development, which cannot be utilized as the criteria of welfare. The purpose of development in the backward countries lies not in progress alone, but also in welfare. And so, it is extremely important for us to scrutinize the character, composition or variations of each of the patterns of welfare which correspond to the types of structural change in backward societies. In this sense, the problem of economic development in backward countries will mean nothing if it disregards the problem of social welfare connected with the structural change of the society.

IV · Organization of Economic Nationalism —From Colonial Economy to National Economy—

The second problem involved in the economic development of backward countries is that of "disequalizing factors". It is the disequalizing factors functioning to the disadvantage of the backward people because of the dependent status of colonies, rather than inherent factors working in the backward society which prevent the people from competing on an equal footing with the advanced nations in the international economic relations. The deformation and stagnation of the backward economy was brought about by the operation of the disequalizing factors. Therefore, it must be a prerequisite of economic development to overcome such a situation and to foster and organize a "countervailing power" internally and internationally to eliminate these disequalizing factors.

The fact that before World War II almost all of the countries in Asia were the colonies, semi-colonies or dependencies of the Western colonial powers, determined the economy of these countries to be a colonial one. The essence of the colonial economy is in brief a "dependent economy", in which everything is com-

¹⁶ The gap between "economic progress" and "social welfare" was dealt with, for the first time, as a subject of study by Furnivall. All of his works are based on the cognizance of this gap.

L. Götzén tried to clarify this problem in his article "Volksinkomen en Belasting" (*Koloniale Studien*, 17e Jg. No. 5. Oct. 1933. blzn. 449-484.) by analyzing the economic effects exerted in each of the communities of Indonesians, foreign Asiatics and Europeans by the World Depression of the thirties, in terms of the fluctuation differential in incomes in each society.

pelled to undergo changes in the interest of the home country. The colonial economy manifests its dependency in two ways—dependency upon the home market and dependency on the world market.¹⁷

Dependency upon the market of the home country implies that the colony is given, above all, the role of an export market of food and materials and of an import market of industrial manufactures in relation to the home country. It is obvious that this dependency gives rise to the predominant position of production of food, raw materials and other agricultural products and the underdevelopment of industrialization, both of which are typical features of the backward economy.

Dependency on the world market signifies that the structure of production in colonies is the so-called "mono-culture", in which production is centred on certain primary products which are most susceptible to the influence of the world market. It may be true that these features were brought about by the favorable conditions of the area concerned for production of tropical specialities. The extremely developed form of mono-culture, however, exposed the local economy to direct and acute effects of the fluctuations in the world market, leaving it excessively unstable.

The rise of the capitalistic colonial enterprises benefited the natives only slightly, and the distribution of incomes continued to be unproportionate. The monopolistic control of the enterprises and estates by foreigners, the intermediary exploitation by foreign Asiatics accompanying the formation of the plural society, and, above all, the decline of the native handicrafts, the dissolution of the autarky of village communities and the collapse of the traditional social systems of religion and customs, all these violently shook the very foundations of the equilibrium and stability of the economy and society of the natives. Loss of land, growth of debt, increase of unemployment, and lowering of rice consumption drove the natives into bottomless poverty.

The feudalistic system of land tenure, the low wages in labor relations, the hampered accumulation of capital, the exchange at an unequivalent rate in trade, and the constant deficit in the balance of payments, together with the low productivity in agriculture and the pressure of population upon food supply, kept the Asian economy in a state of fatal stagnation, which came to be engraved with the mark of a typical colonial dependent economy.

As a result of World War II, most countries in Asia attained political independence and became sovereign nations, although they are not liberated from the economic dependency yet. Even now the disequalizing factors have not been eliminated in international economic relations, and there can still be seen many dilemmas which confront these countries. They are urgently required to establish a "balanced and diversified" national economy freed from the mono-cultural structure of production. However, mono-cultural production needs to be encouraged in order to obtain foreign currencies which are necessary for the

¹⁷ Cf. The author's review, "The Structure of Trade in South-east Asia" (in Japanese), *Keizai Kenkyu* (Economic Review), Vol. 4, No. 3. July 1953. pp. 187-194.

purchase of capital goods for industrialization and economic development. Here lies one of the dilemmas. Another unavoidable dilemma is found in the fact that they cannot rely upon external capital aids without sacrificing, more or less, their political and economic independence, while it is very difficult for these countries to accumulate enough domestic capital because of low productivity and low income level.

After all, the countervailing power against the disequalizing factors can be found only in economic nationalism, but it must be very difficult to overcome economic backwardness only through the repulsion and resistance of nationalism. Nevertheless, it may be admitted that there is no alternative to getting rid of the economic dependency of backward countries other than economic nationalism. Ther, the whole problem is how to organize this countervailing power internally and internationally so that it may be fit for the purpose of economic development of the people concerned.

The land reform, nationalization policy, cooperative movement, industrialization, protective trade policy, etc. which the governments of the countries are now taking up or promoting in one way or another may be regarded as efforts along the direction of "organization of economic nationalism". Needless to say, the governments of these countries need to be firmly founded internally and internationally in order that this organization may be successful.

Political nationalism in Asia, which has just passed the first stage of independence, now faces the problem of economic nationalism, which seeks liberation from the poverty and dependent status in the world economy. Economic nationalism in Asia is prepared to learn much from the socialist way of economic development. Nehru's suggestion on the establishment of a "socialistic pattern of a society" expressed in connection with the Second Five-Year Plan of India, puts the situation clearly. Those who try to study the future and the course of economic development in Asia should reflect upon the real issues of economic backwardness of Asia and the derivative questions thereof.

THE CHARACTER OF THE FEUDAL SOCIETY IN JAPAN (I)

By Takeshi Toyoda

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It is impossible to easily mention what character the feudal society had in Japan as compared with that in Europe, but here I will mention a few problems within my understanding.

I. *Geographical circumstances*

At first we can recognize as the character of the feudal society in Japan that it grew up in a comparatively isolated circumstance without the effect from any other countries. Of course, Ritsuryo [律令] society and *manorial* system [荘園] in Japan were effected from Tang in China, but we must see that there was no relation between China and Bukey society (the chivalrous society) arising at the next age in Japan. Moreover, Japan was such an island country in the comparatively isolated circumstance that there was no international trading. I think that this point is the reason why the feudal society in Japan continued longer than that in Europe. After the 17th century Japan abandoned the intercourse with the other countries and entered into Sakoku (closing the country), so the feudal society in Japan more strengthened its closing tendency. But, under Sakoku Japan had intercourse with Holland and China, so it was not perfect but this is one form of controlling trade which had been exercised in Eastern countries. In this point it is a mistake that we emphasize Sakoku.

Secondly, I think it is the great character that the agriculture which was the fundamental production in Japanese feudal society chiefly relied on the rice field as differed from that in Europe which chiefly relied on the dry farming. The feudal lords in Japan had the stronger right over their peasants through the monopolistic government of water than they in Europe. It is sure that the government prevented the peasants from their growing up independently. Such many problems as the form of the agricultural management and the communities related with the rice field can be considered, but I will mention these problems some other time.

II. *Tenno regime and Feudalism*

On what ground then was it possible for the Japanese Royal house-hold which rose in Yamato about the year of Christ to mention the traditional authority

for two thousand years? In order to account for the problem, we must first explain what part this Tenno regime has played in each period and what kind of character it had in this period. The Tenno regime has been deeply concerned with the social political systems in each of ancient, middle, and modern ages of our country, fulfilling many kinds of demands included in the systems until now. How then does the middle-feudalism relate to this Tenno-regime, as the problem requires now? In regard to this point, Doctor Maki Kenji had once the opinion that the special character of the Japanese feudalism consists in that the Shogun (the head of the feudal regime) is entrusted from Tenno with the political power which he calls the entrusted feudalism (*A History of the Formation of Japanese feudalism*). It is rather doubtful, however, whether or not there was such consideration on the side of feudal lords through the feudal age. Through all of those who took the position of the head of feudalism, Takauji Ashikaga, (足利尊氏) Ieyasu Tokugawa [徳川家康], etc., not to speak of Yoritomo Minamoto [源頼朝], were without exception appointed to Seii-taishogun [征夷大將軍], yet we cannot call it entrusted. Moreover, though Yoritomo was given the right to put Shugo and Zito [守護地頭] all over the lands by the Royal-family, but, Muromachi and Edo Bakuhus such ruling right as not necessarily approved by it. Consequently, the conception that the political power of Buke (the military class) was entrusted by the Royal-family, at the end of Edo Bakuhu that sprang up, does not convince us. Nevertheless, the Royal dynasty, with its traditional authority, had been facing the feudal society since the ancient time, and even Shogun (the head of feudalism) could neither deny nor disregard it at all. Yoritomo Minamoto, the founder of Kamakura-Bakuhu, was able to construct its political power only through borrowing the ancient authority of Tenno. At the Muromachi period when the Royal dynasty lost its real power, there appeared even such a man as Moronao Kono [高] who would openly deny the authority of Tenno. But Ashikaga-Uzi wanted to fortify its feudal ruling through borrowing them under the circumstance that the system of ruling country by Shugo on which Ashikaga-Uzi rested could not yet liquidate the ancient relation. Even in the time of rivalry of powerful lords, Tenno was not entirely blotted out, on the contrary, could perform the funeral or enthronement ceremony, etc., being supported by Hoken-Daimyo (feudal lords). At that time when there was almost no Royal territory after the civil war between Southern and Northern dynasties, how could the Tenno-regime continue to exist in this way? This is the problem that requires firstly to think about the feudalism itself.

(1) In the feudal age, as feudal lords exercised self-assumed authority in each district, competing for their ascendance with each other, the world was apt to become disunited one after another and to be led into anarchy. On the other hand, however, there arose the craving to evade such disunited, disordered, and anarchic conditions. Feudal lords too, thought to put the world in order and make it peaceful by creating the steady authority in some form and by depending on it.

(2) Moreover, feudalism is the system constructed on the vertical relation, as

an axis of upper and lower classes. Bushi (vassals) at that time could exercise the authority over the people, while he himself was used to be ruled by his superiors. Even the ruling right of Shogun (the head of feudal regime) was not absolute, for he not possessing all the lands of the country directly, was not able to rule great lords as easily as he could rule his own state. For this reason he was necessitated to rely upon some spiritual authority which he made the ground for his ruling. There remained then, as the spiritual authority, only the Royal family which had preserved traditions since the ancient time. This is very similar to the phenomenon of the European feudal age of each King of France, England and Germany, etc., whose crowns were guaranteed by the Pope. Of course, the supreme authority of Pope was far stronger than that of Tenno, but Tenno as well was deeply related with the faith of gods and had the unseen power over the world of Shinto. This situation of Tenno is similar to that of Pope who was the leader of the Christian world. But the reason why the Royal-dynasty had kept its authority is due to the fact that besides such religious authority, the Royal dynasty traditionally kept its distinguished culture which it had accepted from China in the early time. The aristocratic culture of the ancient time largely influenced the culture of Buke and of Chonin (citizen) in the middle age. When feudal lords searched for the spiritual authority in order to fortify their ruling system after making up their feudal government, the ancient authority of Tenno was used again and was reproduced. When the tendency of the unity spread throughout the country with the establishment of feudalism, the ancient authority was used as the core of the unity once more. We generally recognize the fact that both Nobunaga Oda and Hideyoshi Toyotomi ruled over Daimyos with the authority of Tenno. Although Ieyasu Tokugawa set the Royal dynasty out of the political power, yet he did not forget to respect it as the spiritual and abstract authority. Then feudalism began to expose its contradictions at the Genroku [元禄] period, when large markets were formed in the country and society advanced over the feudal sectionalism. Shishis began to think of going back to the system of the ancient age and the movement of making the Royal dynasty the core of the government began to appear. It was the revolution of Ishin [維新] that gave the abstract authority of Tenno the real super authority and made it the core of the absolute nation. In this case it was most necessary that they make the authority of Tenno absolute as that of gods. The very evidence is that the fundamental principle of the Ishin government was published as Gokajono-Goseimom [五箇条御誓文] making an oath to gods. At the age of absolutism in Europe, in order to make the king's government holy it was declared that the right of Kings was given by god, what we know as Theory of Divine Right of Kings. We can find the similiar relation with it in Tenno after Ishin. Thus the Tenno regime has changed its character from the ancient system to the feudal one and still more to the absolute system. In this case, we necessarily bring to mind the relation between the right of king and Pope in Europe. In Japan, because feudalism was in the circumstance of the international isolation, Tenno regime has never been struck down by the outer power and has continued to

exist though it has often changed its type.

III. *The feudal relation of lord and vassal*

Then, as compared with the European feudalism, the Japanese feudal relation of lord and vassal was not so free as the European, and was very rigorous. Originally, the feudal relation is that of obligation and servitude and on the mutual assistance. So the feudal relation is radically different from the slavery relation of the ancient time. But, following the historical trace of the relation of lord and vassal, feudalism of every country had vividly the relation of the ancient time at first. Therefore lords had mostly the unlimited powers over their vassals. But, with the advancement of the feudal system, the positions of vassals were promoted and the free relation on the promise of the lord and vassal was advanced. In our country it seems that Kamakura-Shogun (the head of feudal regime) treated his Gokenin (vassals) as a family member, as the powerful Myoshu (a kind of feudal lords) treated his vassals at the Kamakura age which is thought to be the first feudal age, and the man who could become Gokenin was the head of his family. The other sons had only the indirect relation to Kamakura-Shogun and served him according to the rate previously decided by the head. Therefore, at first, the right of the head of a family was very strong and it was said that to obey his order is more important than to obey the order of Shogun. The relation between the head and the other sons was that of regimentation on the blood-relation and of the same family on the same religious celebration. In this meaning the other sons depended on the head as their father or their lord, and the pure relation of head and lord had not come into being. But as the unity of the whole family on the blood-relation became loose at the end of Kamakura, the other sons began to be independent of the head. They united in one district, centering the powerful man in them. This unity in the one district is called Ikki [一揆]. Through the civil war between South and North dynasties, Shugo [守護] (a kind of feudal lords) gradually gained Ikki to his own side and made heads of Ikkis his vassals. But they only looked up to Shugo-Daimyo who suited their convenience, so they often exchanged their lord when he was inconvenient to them. Their relation is similar to the state in which feodatories united and changed their lord in Germany in the 11th or 12th century. When the feudal relation was contracted, not only the previous ceremony of the audience was done but also the rigorous document of promise was made. The document was not the common one but Kishomon, the witness of which was all of gods or Buddha. As the idea of the bilateral contract between lord and vassal became strong, it even happened that one Samurai (vassal) served several lords. On the contrary, when his lord was not powerful or did not give him a reward, he parted from his lord and sought for a fief at another place. It may be due to these that many vassals wandered about to train themselves as Goto Matabei [後藤又兵衛] walked about to serve a lord with the best Yari [槍] in Japan. When the lord was ruined, vassals could serve other lords, for

the lord discharged his vassals and gave them Itoma-sarijo [いとま去り状] (the certificate that a vassal might serve another lord). But, with the completion of Shokuho (Oda and Toyotomi) and Tokugawa government, the loose feudal relation of lord and vassal became the very absolute morality of the allegiance, owing to the morality of Confucianism. The effort strengthening the feudal order made the relation of lord and vassal the fate which could not be moved by anything. Exclaiming the proverb that the relation of parent and child is of one generation, husband and wife of two generations present and future, lord and vassal of three generations, it was seen that the plighted troth of lord and vassal is deeper than that of parent and child, or husband and wife. After all, the Japanese feudal relation of lord and vassal was fundamentally founded on favour and service, but the power of the head was stronger than that of the lord in the immature steps of the feudal system. After the 14th century this relation began to wear the contracting character with the growth of the feudal relation. But this relation was again changed to the morality of the absolute allegiance with the establishment of the feudalism. The relation of lord and vassal in Europe was similarly changed to the relation on the loyalty to a king with the establishment of the right of a King of every country except Germany. In regard to this point it does not seem that the relation of lord and vassal in Japan was widely different from that in Europe. The different point is only that the loyalty to a lord was powerfully required and was occasionally made the absolute morality in Japan. Such a situation may be due to the fact that the power of a lord in Japan was stronger than that in the other countries.

IV. The system of social status

The next problem is the one of feudalism and of social status. With the development of the feudal society, we can see that the discrimination of the governor and governed people grew clear and the social and legal position was fixed by their natural position. Consequently, the people finished their life time belonging to the high class or the low class of their society.

In our country Heino Bunri [兵農分離] (the separation of Samurais and peasants) and Shono Bunri [商農分離] (the separation of merchants and peasants) were clear in the Azuchi-Momoyama era when the feudalism of our country was established firmly, and the wellknown Mibun-Horei (law and ordinance concerning social status of the people) was proclaimed by Hideyoshi (the most powerful lord in Japan at the Momoyama era). Before the times of Hideyoshi, on the one hand we can see that the difference of the social position of Samurai and peasants was clear, on the other hand Samurai took part in the direct agriculture management as their daily work, and the landowner who was a direct agricultural producer, was able to be a soldier. But after Katanagari [刀狩] by Hideyoshi in the latter half of the 16th century the right of arming of peasants (except partial peasants) was taken away. Consequently, a line was gradually drawn between Samurai and peasants as the difference of their occupation. When we compare this Katana-

gari and the No-arming (the robbing of arms) that was performed extensively toward the peasants at the end of the 12th century in England, we can see the same tendency in these two things. The thing corresponding with the social position of the citizen in England is Chonin [町人]. Formerly, those who were settled merchants and manufacturers were called Chonin compared with the merchants who scattered as pedlars, but when Sho-No-Bunri was carried into execution and merchants and manufacturers concentrated in cities the phenomenon of Chonin-merchants appeared. Consequently, the social status of Chonin was established. In this point, the social status system in Japan is not different from the structure of the occupational position of European feudal society. But in the case of Japan the discrimination of Shi-No-Ko-Sho (Samurai-peasants-manufacturers-merchants) was derived from Chinese ancient thoughts and was thought only in books in the Kamakura-Muromachi era when commerce and manufacture were not prosperous. This discrimination, however, was really adopted as a social status according to the establishment of feudalism. But two social status, Sho and Ko, are the same on the treatment from the governor. And so, social status system of Japan is really the same as the three social positions in Europe. It seems that in the case of Europe the position of citizens after the establishment of feudalism, however, was not so neglected as in Japan or rather belonged to a higher class than the position of the former. Moreover, the mutual conversion of these four social status at the period of the establishment of the feudalism of our nation, was not permitted. Still more, the strict social status was observed even in language and custom and there was generally marriage between relations in the same class. The heredity of the occupation that was expressed by the following proverb "An onion will not produce a rose", was a fundamental principle, and there was a strict discrimination between the social status in Europe. But European society being apt to circulate, the discrimination of social status in Europe was not so observed as in our country. But the larger difference is that there were Burakumin [部落民] who were treated as a social status out of four social status in the feudal status of our country. In Kamakura and Muromachi period, there were generally two kinds of the humbles (Senmin [賤民]); one who belonged in the slavery to the manor lords such as nobles, shrines and temples, and the others who were free from lords and lived drifting lives. Some of them were the survivors of Be [部] that were not discharged even under the Ritsuryo [律令] regime, but in a common case their origins are in the obscurity. Those who were engaged in butchery or leatherwork were called Kawata [皮太], Kawatsukuri [皮作] or Kawahagi [皮割]. They were set free from the shrines or temples and put under the control of the feudal lord (Daimyo), as the demands increased for the leather for the munitions of war, in the end of the Sengoku period. They were concentrated in the outskirts of the castle-town of the lord and formed the special community of Buraku. Afterwards the population of Burakumin (members of the special community) increased rapidly and at last their name became to represent all the humble. They were given very poor rice fields and cultivated them on the smaller scale than the general. And there was the strict

discrimination concerning their marriage and dwelling. Burakumin were able to marry only between their own groups. If they married peasants or Chonin (Citizen), they were punished.

As their social status was hereditary, they could never become commoners under any circumstance and on the contrary the commoners were never reduced to the rank of Senmin (the Humbles). Through all the Edo era, like this, a few Japanese people, who belonged to the lower rank than Shi-No-Ko-Sho (vassal-peasant-manufacturer-merchant) had to live a miserable life under the strict discriminative treatment. But observing these phenomena from the view of point of the world history, we could perceive them more or less in any feudal society. For example, in England we can see little discriminating treatments for the leather-workers in the following fact—in the cities of England about the 13th century people, who engaged in leather-work, were never permitted to live in the part of a river but were compelled to live in the lower part in the form of Buraku (the special community). In the European feudal societies, the Jews were treated very discriminatively from the religious prejudice, and formed their special community, but they were not treated as a special social status. Seeing, however, many Asiatic countries, we can recognize the same community that was called Burakumin in Japan. They are Hakucho [白丁] in Korea and Pariah in India. Hakucho in the age of Ri-si engaged in the execution of the death, Hakahori, the butchery, butcher, and the leather-worker, and formed the special community. Pariah in India were people who converted from the Animistic tribe namely the primitive community, which was in the outside sphere of Hinduism, and they belonged to the fifth caste which was the lowest of them all. And it seemed to contaminate the members of the higher caste that Pariah kept in touch with the higher, and moreover they were not permitted to live in the same village with the other higher Hindus, but were compelled to live in the neighbouring villages. Comparing such Indian humbles with Burakumin in Japan (the humble), we must pay attention to the fact that the members of Japanese Burakumin were very few. The total member of the Indian humbles corresponded to about 17 percent of the total population. On the contrary, in the case of Japan, the number of the humble corresponded to about one per cent of the main-land's population in the 4th year of Meiji. Their occupations were leather work, bamboo work, cleaner and keeper. The reason why their occupations were scorned, seems to depend upon the belief that man must kill animals. This belief was based on the thought of the transmigration of the soul, which is characteristic in the Indian religion, and on the thought of the causality-retribution being supported by the transmigration of the soul. In either case, feudalism in Japan had the exclusive tendency which was general in the Asiatic society and included the status of Burakumin as the status out of the status. This point is the great character different from the feudal society in Europe.

SHOSEI-KATAGI AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

By Shunji Ebiike

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When the Meiji Revolution put an end to the old Edo regime and gave birth to modern Japan, the idea of modernity or of civilization was materially identified with that of Western culture. Every branch of Western culture was sought for earnestly and whole-heartedly, although hastily and without much discrimination. A Western-mania was in vogue among all classes and throughout the country.

Culture is, however, a historical formation; it cannot flourish if hastily transplanted. The Meiji Era had to try again and again to see its own culture Westernized and matured. To reform literature was, of course, a most delicate task. Not a few tried to do it and failed. The history of Meiji literature shows clearly the sinuous process of the Westernization of our national mind.

Shōyō Tsubouchi¹ was one of the most distinguished pioneers of the era who introduced Western, especially English, literature to Japan. Trained in the study of English literature at Tokyo University, young Shōyō was well acquainted with the subject. He was a prominent English scholar, but naturally he knew the old Edo literature much better. His views could not but be influenced by it.

In his essay *Shōsetsu-shinzui*², Shōyō rejected the literary convention handed down from the preceding period, which was shallowly moralistic,³ and expounded a realistic view. The essay is generally believed to have been the first manifesto of the new literary aspirants of the age. Its weak point was the nature of the materials the author was compelled to use. Theoretically Shōyō sided with English literature, but practically he knew traditional Japanese literature too well. The tenor of the essay became, in effect, confused and inconsistent.

Shōyō published a novel named *Shosei-Katagi*⁴ about the same time. It apparently was intended to be a realization of his views in *Shōsetsu-shinzui*, and the confusion and inconsistency appeared even more strikingly in it, as may well be imagined.

This paper has been written to show how Shōyō, a young Mijian, realized his conception of the novel in the latter work, and, if possible, to inquire into one aspect of our early modern culture.

¹ He was born in 1859, nine years before the Meiji Restoration, and died in 1935.

² 小説神髓, literally, "The Essence of the Novel," published in the 18th and 19th years of Meiji (1885-6.)

³ The leading motto of men of letters in the latter years of the Edo Period was "kanzen-chōaku," literally, to urge good and to chastise evil. They drastically recast, and did not faithfully observe, the pattern of life for their professed moral.

⁴ 書生氣質, literally, students' "humours."

In the preface to *Shosei-katagi* the author says:

I have recently published a work named *Shōsetsu-shinzui*, in which I boasted a great deal. In writing the present book, I have found to my shame that I cannot realize half of my theory there. However, I must assert that its purpose has been to describe, without any prejudice, life as it really is. I am afraid that those who cling to conventional morality will not favour the novel...

The novel was published serially from June of the eighteenth year of Meiji (1885) to January of the next year, before the publication of *Shōsetsu-shinzui* was completed. However, the actual writing of the essay seems to have been done much earlier. According to Prof. Izumi Yanagida, the greater part of what passes as *Shōsetsu-shinzui* today was written by September of the sixteenth year of Meiji (1883).⁵ Prof. Yanagida, who has a vast knowledge of Meiji literature, can be trusted. Shōyō's words in the preface quoted above have nothing contradictory as regards the dates of the two works.

The question is, then, how the "theory" in the essay is put in practice in the novel.

The story is roughly as follows:

Chapter I begins with a scene in which a *geisha*, Tanoji, bumps into a student of "a certain private school," Sanji Komachida, at Asukayama. Sanji is there to see cherry-blossoms with his friends, while Tanoji is accompanying her customers. They seem to know each other well. The fact is that Sanji's father Kōji, having been promoted to a considerable position in the new Government by virtue of his services for the cause during the Revolution, kept a mistress Otsune⁶ and adopted a foundling girl, Oyoshi. After a while he lost his position and severed his connections with Otsune. Otsune became a *geisha* and took Oyoshi with her. Oyoshi was trained to be a *geisha*, which she became in time, and was called Tanoji.

Sanji and Tanoji become mutually attached. He begins to frequent a *chaya* (restaurant where *geishas* serve) and neglects his studies. One of his friends, Tomoyoshi Moriyama, admonishes him and he vows abstinence. Before long Sanji attends a farewell party for another of his friends, Tōichi Ninna, who is to go abroad, and is forced to go to Yoshiwara. Seeing Tanoji there, he breaks his vow; his misconduct comes to be known to all the school. He is ordered to absent himself from school, but, working hard and with repentance, he gets the order withdrawn. Tanoji turns out to be Moriyama's sister who was separated from her family in the confusion of the Revolution and has long been searched for.

Besides those characters, including several students, a *shōgi* (courtesan) named Kaodori, and a streetwalker named Otoyo, are introduced. Kaodori's birth is a mystery and her identity is temporarily confounded with that of Tanoji.

Students' life in the second decade of the Meiji Era is described at length;

⁵ Izumi Yanagida: *Meiji Literature, a Collection of Essays*, "How Was *Shōsetsu-Shinzui* Written?"

⁶ To keep a mistress was not at all scandalous then. It rather denoted the high position of one who did it. One's wife and mistress often lived in the same house.

their behaviour at their haunts, *gyūya* (*sukiyaki* eating-house), *yaba* (ostensibly an archery, practicing shop but, in truth, a house of ill fame), *yose* (variety-hall), *onsen* (bath) and even *yūri* (licensed quarters), is not omitted.

The students in the book are, as mentioned above, of "a certain private school." The chief materials, however, seem to have been the author's own experiences at Tokyo University at Hitotsubashi. He says that while writing the book he was thinking of some of his friends, but only of their "external peculiarities," that characteristics of two or three real students were gathered into one or other of the characters, and that he intended only to depict faithfully those somehow "naive, innocent and genteel" qualities which he observed in the university students of those days.⁷

The *shosei* (students) were full of energy and promise, characteristic of the then-rising generation.⁸ Shōyō's intention to describe the characteristically "naive, innocent" behaviour of *shosei*, rather than their personal scandals, was fundamentally relevant and realistic in a positive sense of the word. However, the result, the description itself, can by no means be said to be satisfactory.

There are obvious traces of mannerism found in the novel. For instance, the episode of Tanoji's birth and that of Kaodori's are far-fetched and awkward. Sanji's love is, if not merely sensual, casual; it does not reveal much of his inner life. The characters, not only the minor figures but also the students and even the hero himself, have something of "character" but no personality.

The story begins as follows:⁹

How the world changes! When the Shogunate Government flourished, the time was for *Samurai* (military class).¹⁰ Great Edo, their capital, however, changed its name to Tokyo in the course of time. Since then every year has seen an advancement of the age. The distinction of classes having been removed, the talented, whatever their birth, are promoted, achieve a high reputation among the chosen few, and drive their own, black-polished carriages. A son of a *nori*-man¹¹ wears a dignified pair of moustaches, while a *kuge* (aristocrat) having the noble name of So-and-so-*kōji*¹² is reduced to being a rikishaman and runs along a thoroughfare.

At the end of the chapter, Sanji, in deep reflection after seeing Tanoji unexpectedly, is greeted by one of his friends:

"Oh, it is you, Sugawa? Are you still here?" "I suspect you, Komachida. You know that *geisha*, don't you?" Sanji reddened in spite of himself, and awkwardly smiling, said, "No, I don't."

The author's attitude reminds one at once of Edo stories, especially those

⁷ "The author's Reminiscences." Appendix VI to *Shosei-katagi*, the authorized edition, published by Tokyodō.

⁸ Today the Japanese for "student" is *gakusei* and not *shosei*. The word *shosei* is characteristically Meijiian.

⁹ No correct idea of the style of a literary work can be given by a translation. To discuss that of *Shosei-katagi*, the original Japanese must be inquired into. It is merely for convenience's sake that a translation is given here.

¹⁰ In the original Japanese the "ō" of "ō Edo" (Great Edo) puns upon that of "bushi nomi toki ni ō (au)" (literally, only the Samurai class met the time.) It is an instance of *kakekotoba*, one of the techniques often used in Edo literature. Three instances of *Kakekotoba* are seen in the original of the short passage quoted here.

¹¹ *Nori* is a kind of dried and dressed seaweed, usually taken at breakfast. *Nori*-men sold it in the street, but they are no longer seen.

¹² *Kōji* means an alley. *Kuge* often called themselves So-and-so-*Kōji*, apparently after their abodes in Miyako, the old capital of Mikado. That a rikishaman So-and-so-*kōji* runs along a thoroughfare is a witticism of words, typically Edoesque.

called *ninjōbon*.¹³ Originally a very popular kind of story towards the end of the Edo Period, *ninjōbon* still survived after the Restoration. In fact the novel was a *ninjōbon* then, whatever might be Shōyō's or any other enlightened author's idea of it. Shōyō must have had one constantly in mind while writing *Shosei-katagi*. As Prof. Homma of Waseda University pointed out, a conspicuous allusion to one of the current *ninjōbon*, *Makoto-kurabe*,¹⁴ is found in Chapter VIII of the novel. It seems to be the author's unconscious confession of what he thought of the story, if not of the novel, which he professed in *Shōsetsu-shinzui* to be a product of modern times as distinguished from the romance. It is no wonder that he intended to write a novel and managed to write a new kind of *ninjōbon*.

The author of *Makoto-kurabe* is said to have been Shunsui Tamenaga II, successor to the originator of *ninjōbon*, Shunsui I. Needless to say, Shōyō had no intention to imitate this notorious story-teller, Shunsui I, but for all that there is a striking resemblance between *Shosei-katagi* and Shunsui's works, for instance, *Umegoyomi*,¹⁵ his best-known story and a representative work of the genre.

Umegoyomi begins as follows:

Daffodils have need of a sedge-hat thrown away in a field.¹⁷ A poor house like a frost-shelter for daffodils, if not a hat itself, hedged in with sparse *masaki* (a kind of evergreen), fields outside dotted with thin ice—even such a poor, sequestered, rented house may be better than a fine residence in a big town for those who are accustomed to it, if they “thaw” towards each other. This is Naka-no-gō,¹⁸ between truth and falsehood, having only five or six houses, one of which, scantily furnished, seems to have recently been taken by one who has got a new start in life. He, eighteen or nineteen years old, seems to have sunk in fortune, though he is not mean in appearance...A woman: “Hello, hello, may I come in?” The master of the house: “Who is it that calls?” The woman: “Oh, the voice is surely that of the young Master!”

The hero of the story is Tanjirō, adopted son of the master of a licensed house, Karakotoya's, at Koigafuchi, Kamakura.¹⁹ He has been driven away by the wicked manager of the house and lives a poor life at Naka-no-gō. The *geisha* Yonehachi, originally kept at Karakotoya's but now living at Futagawa,

¹³ *Ninjōbon*, literally, book of human feelings, flourished in the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century. The “*ninjō* (human feelings)” is an idea contrasted with *tsū*, refinement of those who were well-versed in the manners of *yūri*. Spontaneity of feelings is emphasized. Cf. Isoji Asō: *An Introduction to the Edo Novel*, Chap. VII, i.

¹⁴ *Asao Iwakiri Makoto-kurabe* (浅尾岩切真実蔵), literally, “rivalry to keep the truth of Asao and Iwakiri,” published in April 1883, previously printed in a newspaper. Cf. Hisao Homma: *A History of Meiji Literature*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Chap. IV, v. a.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ 梅児誉美, literally, “plum-blossom calendar,” published in 1832. The resemblance between *Umegoyomi* and *Shosei-katagi* is more striking than that between *Makoto-kurabe* and the latter. *Makoto-kurabe*, a coarse and rambling narrative, can hardly be called a literary work.

¹⁷ The original is ambiguous. It may be an allusion or a quotation. Prof. Hisashi Furukawa of Tokyo Woman's Christian College, who edited the text of the Iwanami Library, says that he cannot confirm it. The whole of the quoted passage being loose in context, with *kakekotoba* and other far-fetched expressions, the translation cannot be said to be exact.

¹⁸ A proper noun which means, literally, “middle village.”

¹⁹ A fictitious name of Edo often used by Edo authors. Koigafuchi is an equivalent to Yoshiwara of Edo, and Futagawa to Fukagawa.

and Ochō, Karakotoya's daughter and Tanjirō's fiancée, are both deeply attached to him and do him affectionate services. Adakichi, another *geisha* at Futagawa, loves him too. Besides them, various characters, the usual frequenters of *yūri*, are introduced. The mystery concerning the births of the principal characters is eventually explained, and Tanjirō marries Ochō, keeping Yonehachi as mistress.

The story, especially its *dénouement*, shows clearly what the hero's love is. It is outrageously sensual and easy-going, his inner life being poor. The characters, including him, have no personality in the strict sense of the word. The mystery of their births is too exaggerated. The story is, in a word, a cheap fiction, not an accurate description of real life, be it historically "pre-modern" or not.

The "mannerism" in *Shosei-katagi*, as mentioned above, was undoubtedly handed down from such a *ninjobon* as *Umegoyomi*.²⁰ Shōyō's interest in it is seen throughout the novel. For instance, in Chap. V Tōichi Ninna calls to Sanji, "Why, here is a Tanjirō," and when Sanji replies, "Is it you, Ninna? You also take me for a novel," he corrects the words: "No, I don't. I take you for a character in a novel."²¹

The name Tanjirō was a common noun, meaning a good-natured Lovelace, then, but here Shunsui's story itself is not forgotten. Sanji is a Tanjirō in the same situation as the original character's, being loved by a girl he was brought up with—without any convincing reason.

Another name in *Umegoyomi*, Adakichi, is mentioned. (Chap. X.)

Shōyō had, however, no intention to imitate Shunsui, as was said before. He says in an article contributed to a newspaper²² that Dickens and later English novelists dispassionately described the mode of life around them; and that they were not specious moralists like the story-tellers of the Tamenaga school who, in fact, "catered to the lascivious taste of the public." In another article to the same paper²³ he says that Shunsui knew "human feelings" well, but, "clinging to formal morality, he often devised a *dénouement* inconsistent with human nature."

Shōyō's conception of a novel or a novelist was different from the conventional one, having been founded on his knowledge of English literature.

Who was his model novelist then?

There are not a few English authors alluded to in *Shosei-katagi*. Among them, Byron, Milton and Shakespeare are not novelists, and must be left out of consideration here. Bulwer-Lytton's *Rienzi* is mentioned more than once. (Chaps. XI, XIV.) Shōyō himself translated it about the same time that he wrote *Shosei-katagi*.²⁴ However, the story, based on the career of Cola di Rienzi, a fourteenth-century Roman tribune, is not a *sewamono*, a story of contemporary

²⁰ The title *Shosei-katagi* seems, however, to be modeled on that of so-called *katagimono*, e.g. *Seiken Musuhokanagi* (literally, sons' "humours" in the world, 1715), *Seiken Musume-katagi* (daughters' "humours" in the world, 1716), etc.

²¹ Sanji and his friend take *Umegoyomi* for a typical novel (*shōsetsu*), whatever the author Shōyō might think of the novel.

²² *Jiyū-no-tomoshibi* (*The Light of Liberty*), July 30 and 31, 1885. The article was slightly revised and affixed to Chap. X (Number nine) of *Shosei-katagi*.

²³ August 4, 1885.

²⁴ Published in February, 1885.

everyday life, which Shōyō distinguished categorically from a *jidaimono*, a historical novel, in *Shōsetsu-shinzui*.²⁵

In the newspaper article quoted above Shōyō adds the words:

Dickens described to life the manner of pickpockets.

The allusion must be to Fagin's gang in *Oliver Twist*. *Shosei-katagi* is, however, quite different from that both in form and substance. Shōyō must have read that famous story and been impressed by it, but he can not have learned much from it.

There is no definite evidence, either external or internal, that shows the direct influence of any English novel upon *Shosei-katagi*, but, directly or not, Shōyō must have been influenced by some English novelists he had read. In fact, he had a few in mind ready to recommend. He did not hesitate to name Scott, Bulwer-Lytton and George Eliot, and call them "masters of modern fiction" in *Shōsetsu-shinzui*.²⁶

Of those three authors, George Eliot probably deserves the words best, considering that the kind of fiction she wrote was *sewamono*, as Shōyō called it. He mentions her again in one of the newspaper articles quoted above,²⁷ naming her along with Bret Harte as a typical "artistic" novelist.

To say that Shōyō imitated a particular work of George Eliot's is a mistake, but it cannot be denied that he looked upon her as an author of what he thought the novel, *sewamono*, should be.

George Eliot died in 1880. Her authorized biography,²⁸ *George Eliot's Life, as Related in her Letters and Journals*, edited by her husband, J. W. Cross, was published five years later, that is, in the year in which the publication of *Shosei-katagi* was begun, and contained much high praise. Another life of George Eliot by Oscar Browning,²⁹ perhaps the most popular of her biographies at the end of the last century, was published soon after. Whatever tribute her husband might pay to her memory, the author of the latter also did her homage in such high terms as follows:

It is possible that "Adam Bede," "Middlemarch," and "Daniel Deronda" may eventually have their place rather beside "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" than beside "Tom Jones" and "Clarissa Harlowe."³⁰

Middlemarch is generally regarded as one of the masterpieces of English fiction,³¹ but no one who knows anything of English literature thinks that it should be placed beside any of Shakespeare's four great tragedies rather than the two representative eighteenth century novels. Neither *Adam Bede* nor *Daniel Deronda*, not so happy in idea or execution, is by any means worth the praise. That George Eliot was so regarded seems incredible today. Such was nevertheless the case

²⁵ *Shōsetsu-shinzui*, I, "The Kinds of the Novel."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, "The Development of the Novel." Dumas is also mentioned, but omitted here, being a French author.

²⁷ *Jiyū-no-tomoshibi*, August 4, 1885.

²⁸ However new materials have come to light since then. Cf. Prof. Haight's *George Eliot and John Chapman and George Eliot Letters*, Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson's *Marian Evans and George Eliot*, etc.

²⁹ One of the "Great Writers" series, published in 1892. Her fame fell soon afterward; ten years later, in 1902, Leslie Stephen had to play an advocate's part in another popular life in the "English Men of Letters" series. Today she is reassessed and regarded as one of the greatest novelists of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

³⁰ Oscar Browning: *Life and Writings of George Eliot*, Chap. I.

³¹ Cf. Leticia Cooper: *George Eliot*, Robert Speaight: *George Eliot*, Chap. VIII, etc.

at the end of the last century.

Oscar Browning says that *Adam Bede* was the most popular of all George Eliot's novels then.³² Shōyō must have taken it for one of her greatest works, if not the greatest. It will perhaps not be irrelevant to compare it with *Shosei-katagi*.

Adam Bede is too well-known to be explained in detail here. Its theme is clear enough to those who have read it through once—the restoration of lost fidelity by means of the performance of duty and love due to fellow human beings. On the other hand, the scenes and characters in the story are said to have been, on the whole, derived from the author's memories. The life in it was materially her own, though it is not her autobiography, and that is the reason why the theme, a moral lesson, was worked up with vigour and the story became something more than a fable. It is not without false elaborations, but what is told in it mainly rings true.

Shosei-katagi has no theme in the same sense that *Adam Bede* has one. Or rather, Shōyō lost sight of one by rejecting a moral in this ambitious *étude* of his in accordance with his "theory." Thus, his novel could not but be loose in form and weak in effect, though he used familiar materials and devised a complicated plot.

Shosei-katagi is not an imitation of *Adam Bede*. Sanji Komachida is not intended to correspond to Adam Bede, nor Tanoji to Hetty Sorrel. If Shōyō had imitated it, he might have failed utterly, and Meiji literature might have had no Sanji and no Tanoji. *Shosei-katagi* would have been a different story from what it is, unreadable perhaps—at any rate, not a *ninjōbon* without a moral.

Shōyō, who studied English literature, ought to have understood the true meaning of such words of George Eliot's as:

So I am content to tell my simple story, without trying to make things better than they were...³³

He ought to have understood that *Adam Bede*, if a "simple story," is not a copy of fragments of life, but a study of it, based on the insight into individual minds, the author's own as well as her fellow human being's, and the investigation of morality, the question of how to live.

Shosei-katagi is an epoch-making novel in the history of Meiji literature. Shōyō's plan to renovate literary convention and to establish a new kind of fiction, the "modern" novel, as he took it, was boldly put in practice in it.

Shōyō the renovator was sincere and efficient—more efficient than any other contemporary men of letters. What he accomplished, however, is far from consummate, as has been explained, and the chief reason may be attributed to his imperfect knowledge of English literature, on which he founded his "theory." However, whatever knowledge he might have had, it was all he could acquire

³² Browning, op. cit., Chap. V.

³³ *Adam Bede*, Bk. II, Chap. XVII.

at that time,³⁴ circumstanced as he was.

Who was better circumstanced at the beginning of the Meiji Era?³⁵ The era had to make many futile attempts to produce its own literature, the novel among all its *genres*, deserving the name of true "modern" culture.

³⁴ Of course Shōyō's knowledge of English literature deepened in time, but he took to drama and gave up writing novels. His achievement is stated in full in his authorized biography by Izumi Yanagida and Shigetoshi Kawatake.

³⁵ Shōyō was trained in the study of English literature, as was noted before. He belonged to and graduated at the faculty of letters, Tokyo University. The faculty was a small one, not differentiated yet as it was later. Shōyō belonged to the department of history (political economy and philosophy, since the second year of his attendance) and politics. Cf. Izumi Yanagida and Shigetoshi Kawatake: *Shōyō Tsubouchi*, Chap. III, xviii-xiv.

THE TWO CONSTRUCTIONS : “ACCUSATIVE AND PARTICIPLE” AND “GENITIVE AND GERUND”

A Diachronic-Synchronic Study in English Syntax

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

§ 1. In modern English syntax the two categories of verbals, the present participle and the gerund, often offer delicate problems to the students. In some kinds of expression it appears so difficult to judge whether a form ending in *-ing* is used as a participle or as a gerund that some grammarians or philologists think it better not to recognize the separate categories but to unify them into one common category, terming it “*ing-form*” or merely “*ing*.”

It is true that from the morphological point of view the participle and the gerund have been confused into one form *-ing* on account of particular circumstances that have occurred in the history of the English language. But the problem is whether they have been confounded in their syntactic functions or stylistic values as well. Even those who have recourse to the common term *ing-form* or *ing* cannot help admitting that there are many cases where each of the two categories is used with the function very distinct from that of the other. Beside these ordinary cases, those where the distinction seems difficult or impossible may be said to be only exceptional. The present researcher firmly stands on the principle of recognizing the two separate categories. To him the two kinds of *ing-form* are common to each other merely in their outer speech-form, but in their intrinsic nature they should be absolutely separate from each other.

§ 2. To make our point clear, we shall below mention some of the dubious instances found in ModE.

(1) She had objected to him *praying* aloud in the evening.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(2) I recollect my mother *giving* me three raisins.—Ruskin, *Præterita* [Jespersen].

These sentences may be interpreted in two manners according as the *-ing* forms are considered gerunds or participles. First, if *praying* and *giving* are taken as gerunds, the sentences will be understood to mean (1) “She had objected to

the fact that he prayed..." and (2) "I recollect that my mother gave...". This interpretation is based upon the historical fact that the accusative or common case, *him* and *mother*, has replaced the original genitive case, *his* and *mother's*.

The other interpretation is to regard *praying* and *giving* as participles. Here it must be noted that this is not because, as is often alleged, these participles can be paraphrased into the attributive clauses: "who prayed *or* was praying" and "who had given." Such paraphrasing would only produce a sense somewhat different from the original. It is in this respect that we see an important point concerning the theme of the present study.

§ 3. Now let us compare the following example.

(1) At this point he had just caught sight of a pale object *slipping* under.—Hardy, *Life's Little Ironies*, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" vi.

In this sentence "sight of a pale object slipping under" is certainly not equivalent to "sight that a pale object slipped *or* was slipping under." *Slipping* must be understood as a participle. Yet is it all right that we should only paraphrase "*slipping* under" into "that was slipping under"?

Admitting that such an *-ing* form is a participle as *adjunct* to the preceding noun, it is involuntarily invested with the function of *predicative* at the same time. The same function is discerned more clearly in the common pattern "I saw him *coming*"; but what we can say about *coming* either in "I caught sight of him *coming*" or in "I saw him *coming*" is that it is equally in the nature of *predicative adjunct*.

As contrasted with this loose adjunctive nature of the participle, the gerund, as in "I insist upon Miss Sharp *appearing*," is more closely united with the preceding noun. In the sentence "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing," *Miss Sharp* is combined with *appearing* so as to become sense-subject of the latter. In this way the two elements have semantically composed a relation of subject and predicate, what Jespersen calls *nexus*.¹

We must notice that in such a nexal unit the nucleal element is the gerund rather than its sense-subject, as we can learn from the original form "Miss Sharp's appearing." The following example is instructive in this respect.

(2) I don't believe in interfering with anybody else's doings, *or anybody interfering* with mine.—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith* IX. iii.

Here the supplemental nature of *anybody* as sense-subject of the gerund *interfering* is especially apparent, contrasted with the use of the "subjectless" *interfering* that has appeared in the parallel phrase. We are distinctly shown the syntactic characteristics of the gerund-construction as contrasted with those of the participle-construction.

§ 4. Furthermore, from the stylistic point of view, there should be a dis-

¹ According to Jespersen, *him coming* in "I saw him coming" is also a nexus. Accentuating the adjunctive nature of the participle in general, however, we abstain from applying the term to such a participial combination.

tion between the participle and the gerund even in such instances as (1) and (2) under §2, where it appears indifferent whether the *-ing* form may be interpreted in either way. Such phenomena, however, are nothing but the result of confusion, psychological as well as syntactical. The aim of the present study is to elucidate as far as possible what has brought about the confusion in English syntax.

As available approaches to the research, we shall primarily resort to a diachronic method. ModE "I saw *him coming*" on one hand, and "I insist on *his coming*" on the other, surely represent the two lines of development which should be traced back to the earliest period in the history of the English language.

We have found, however, that the complicate reality can never be explained away by the diachronic method alone. The fact is that most of the questionable phenomena are mainly observed in the late ModE period, as we shall describe in Chapter IV. The solution of these requires a synchronical approach. The factors should be sought for either psychologically or stylistically on the one stage of the development. This is the secondary method we shall be forced to adopt.

In order to make matters less complicate, we shall restrict ourselves to the treatment of those constructions where a participial or gerundial phrase functions as object of a transitive verb or a preposition. We shall exclude any instance where a participle or a gerund takes part in the subject of a sentence, such as "Women *having* the vote share political power with men," though this involves the important problem that concerns the constructions we are going to treat.

CHAPTER II

The Development of the "Accusative and Participle" Construction

1. The OE Infinitive-Construction Compared

§ 5. As in ModE the pattern "I saw him coming" is parallel with the pattern "I saw him come," so in OE the participle-construction seems to have been used on the analogy of the infinitive construction. Having developed much more verbal force and syntactic capacity, the infinitive was used in this construction more usually than the participle, as in:

Riett meowle seo hiere bearn gesihþ brandas þeccan.—*The Fates of Men*
ll. 46–47. (A woman weeps who sees the flames cover her child.)

In OE such an expression was fairly common, apparently through the influence of the Latin construction "accusativus cum infinitivo." Here the infinitive *þeccan* (=cover), following the combination of the predicate verb *gesihþ* (=sees) and its accusative object *brandas* (=flames), performs the function as predicative of the object.

Now the similar function could also be performed by the present participle.

The meaning of the sentence above would hardly suffer any change if we were to supplant the infinitive *ƿeccan* by the participle *ƿeccende* (=covering). The only conceivable differences would be that the participle, with its adjunctive nature, is appended to the preceding noun somewhat more loosely than the infinitive, and that the former displays more descriptive force than the latter, with its inherent aspect denoting a durative or imperfective action. In spite of these differences, however, the two constructions have remained parallel with each other in their structural procedure, which is distinct from that of the gerundial construction.

§ 6. Before inquiring into actual instances in OE, we shall compare the expression with that in the main allied languages German and French, so as to clarify the peculiarity of the participle-construction in English. In both German and French we can find the "accusative and infinitive" construction as well as in English, but in neither of them the "accusative and participle" construction. The two English sentences "I saw the dog *swim* across the river" and "I saw the dog *swimming* across the river" must be translated into German in one way of using an infinitive: "Ich sah den Hund über den Fluss *schwimmen*." If we specially want to express in German the durative or imperfective aspect of the action "swimming" that the second English sentence succeeds in expressing so exquisitely, we shall have to use a subordinate clause in this way: "Ich sah, *wie* der Hund über den Fluss *schwamm*."²

Again, the meaning of the English "I see the dog *running*" as well as "I see the dog *run*" must be expressed in French by means of an infinitive: "Je vois le chien *courir*," or otherwise with a relative clause: "Je vois le chien *qui court*."³

These instances show not only that English is equipped with a concise and convenient means of expression as contrasted with German or French, but also that the English expression with the participle is more precise and expressive in conveying the delicate shade of meaning, and is so much the greater in linguistic value, than the corresponding expression in the two other languages. At the same time it must not be overlooked that such syntactic and stylistic potentiality⁴ exhibited by the present participle in this construction can be traced back to the earliest stage in the history of the English language.

2. The "Accusative and Participle" in OE

§ 7. The use of a present participle in OE could be distinctly discerned by its representative ending *-ende* (cf. OHG *-anti*), the form in West Saxon, in which dialect the best part of the OE literature was written and has been preserved.

² Brunner, *Die englische Sprache* II. p. 361.

³ Regula, *Grundlegung und Grundprobleme der Syntax* §54 II.

⁴ It is the same potentiality of the participle that has contributed to develop the usage of the so-called progressive form, as in "The dog *is running*," which was also originated in the OE period and whose exact correspondent has never been found in any other language. Cf. Mossé, *F. P.* II. §79.

The construction "verb+object+participle" was found in the earliest period. Only, while in ModE the introductory verbs are of several kinds (cf. § 19), in OE the construction was more limited and chiefly introduced by verbs of sensuous or mental perception, that is, *geseon* (=see), *gehieran*⁵ (=hear), *gemetan*⁶ (=find), etc.

(1) Hie Drihten *gesawon upastizendne*.—*Blickling Homilies* [Brunner].
(They saw the Lord ascending.)

(2) He *geseah ænne man sittende* æt toll-sceamule.—*Matt.* ix. 9. (He saw a man sitting at the toll-seat.)

(3) *ƿa mænegu wundredon geseonde*? *dumbe spēcende*.—*Matt.* xv. 31.
(The multitude wondered when they saw the dumb speaking.)

(4) *ƿa gehyrdon hyne twegen leorningcnihtas spēcende*. —*John* i. 37.
(Then the two disciples heard him speaking.)

(5) Heo gemette ƿat mæden on hyre bedde *licgende*.—*Mark* vii. 30.
(She found the maiden lying on her bed.)

In these examples the present participles appended to the accusative nouns and pronoun also stand in the accusative case so as to denote their adjunctive relation to the objects. The accusative case is externally clear in the ending *-ne* of *upastizendne* in example (1). The formal denotation of the case in such predicative participles, however, was often obliterated already in this period, as is seen in *sittende* of example (2), where the ending *-ende* fails to distinguish the form from that of the nominative case. But it remains true that the participle was in the accusative, whether explicitly or implicitly. This fact shows that the participle is added to the preceding noun or pronoun adjunctively, though it has involuntarily come to appear as predicative of the latter. Here is revealed the concrete cumulative style of arranging the elements of the sentence one after another according to the succession of the ideas—the style characteristic of traditional English syntax. It may be of some interest in this respect to notice that Koch (*Satzlehre* §89) paraphrases the part "geseonde dumbe spēcende" in example (3) into the German construction with a subordinate clause: "als sie sah, dass die Tauben sprachen."

§ 8. The few examples cited in the previous section seem to suggest that this kind of construction is especially frequent in the West-Saxon version of the

⁵ OED (s.v. HEAR 3) notes that the present participle used after "hear+object" is originally a "verbal substantive (i.e. gerund) with a-." Though the dictionary itself records no example illustrative of this statement, the following may be mentioned as instances of "hear+object+gerund" (cf. "The house is building."):

(1) Annie seem'd to hear her own death-scaffold raising.—Tennyson, *Enoch Arden* 175.

(2) I had never heard one(=a coffin) making.—Dickens, *David Copperfield* ix.
But these special phenomena with the passival *-ing* form have nothing to do with the enlightenment of the origin in regard to the form after *hear*.

⁶ The verb has survived as ModE *meet*. With OE *findan* (=find) the "accusative and infinitive" construction was a usual one. The use, however, has become obsolete, and a participle is now usually used instead of an infinitive after *find*. Cf. OED, s.v. FIND v. 1b.

⁷ This *geseonde* (cf. the infinitive *geseon*) is another participle, which functions as predicative in the relation of apposition to the subject *ƿa mænegu*.

Gospels. The version was accomplished in the late OE period, extending from the last decade of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century, based upon the two Latin texts, the *Vulgate* and the *Vetus Italica*.⁸ We have good reason, therefore, to infer that the frequency of the construction may be due to the influence of the Latin model.⁹ The fact is that we can find the same use of the present participle in the Latin sentence corresponding to the OE example cited as (2) in the previous section. Below let us quote the Latin originals.¹⁰

Vulgate: Vidit hominen *sedentem* in telonio.

Vetus Italica: Vidit hominen *sedentem* ad telonium.

Sedentem in either text is the accusative case of the present participle *sedens*, the infinitive being *sedere* (=sit).

The Latin influence should be surely regarded as an important factor for the origin of the construction in English. But concerning the later development, we must acknowledge the potentiality inherent in English syntax itself.

3. *cniht wesende* / *be him lifgendum*

§ 9. With respect to the construction observed in the previous sections, we should like to mention the two OE idiomatic expressions in either of which a present participle is an essential component. The first is the phrase *cniht wesende*, used in the following way.

(1) Sægde he þæt he hine *cneoht weosende* gesawe.—*Bede* II. xv. (He said that he had seen it when a boy.)

(2) Ic hine cuðe *cniht wesende*.—*Beowulf* 372. (I know him as a boy.)

If the phrase *cniht wesende* is construed according to the original function, we may say that the noun *cniht* (=boy) is a complement of the present participle *wesende* (=being), which is appositively related to a preceding noun or pronoun. So the participle *wesende*, though devoid of the descriptive force perceived in usual participles, performs the same syntactic function, when it is related to the object of a transitive verb, as *coming* in "I saw him *coming*." In example (1) *weosende* is appositive to the subject *he*; while in example (2) *wesende* is related to the object *hine* (=him), forming thus the "accusative and participle" construction.

Hitherto we have considered the structural side of the phrase *cniht wesende*. But it seems to be more important to inquire into the semantic or lexical side of this particular expression. As is the case with similar phenomena in early English, the combination of the two elements in *cniht wesende* is closely fixed. Between them there is no longer any sense of free syntactic relation, as we feel between *was* and *a boy* in the ModE expression "when he *was a boy*." Indeed *cniht* and *wesende* are combined so fixedly that many editors or lexicographers print the

⁸ Delcourt, *Initiation* §29, ft. 2.

⁹ We can find an authentic confirmation of this inference in the detailed statement given in Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* p. 225 ff.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* §61. Also compare §20.

combination as one compound word "*cniht-wesende*" or "*cnihtwesende*" and rank it as an adjective. Indeed the similar, though poetic, expression "*umbor* (=child) *wesende*" is used in the inflected form of an adjective in the following example.

(3) Wene ic þæt he mid gode gyldan wille uncran eaferan, gif he þæt eal gemon, hwæt wit to willan ond to worðmyndum *umbor wesendum* ær arna gefremedon.—*Beowulf* 1184–7. (I think that he will reward the sons of us two with goodwill, if he remembers all of what favours we once did to his pleasure and honours when he was a child.)

Here *wesendum* is in the dative case in concord with *willan* and *worðmyndum*, though semantically we should rather say that it is appositive to the unexpressed *him*, the personal sense of which is implied by the two dative nouns. Anyhow *umbor* has lost its status as an independent word and been attached to *wesendum* so as to form part of the one adjective.

Cniht-wesende or *umbor-wesende* was merely a fixed, short-lived formula, destined to become obsolete within the period of OE. That is true, but the phenomenon seems to be suggestive of the early stage in the history of the constructions that we go on investigating. Compare §§ 36, 37, 40.

§ 10. The other OE phrase that deserves our attention is *be him lifgendum*. The literal meaning of it is "by him living." *Be* (=by) here denotes a temporal relation and means "during" in ModE, *him* is the dative governed by the preposition *be*, and *lifgendum* is a participle, also inflected in the dative case, derived from *lifgan* (=live) and is placed in apposition to *him*. The striking feature is that the whole group has been invested with a particular sense "during his lifetime." Before inquiring into further details, let us see some actual examples.

(1) Constantinus...*be Diocletiane lyfgendum* Gallia rice and Ispania heold and rehte.—*Bede* I. viii. (Constantinus held and swayed the kingdom of Gaul and Spain in the lifetime of Diocletianus.)

(2) Hie *be him lifgendum* hie¹¹ gedældun.—*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) 718. (They parted during their lifetime.)

(3) Se Wulfwi feng to ðam biscoprice þe Ulf hæfde *be him libbendum* and of *adræfdum*.—*Ibid.* (C) 1053. (The aforesaid Wulfwig succeeded to the bishopric that Ulf had during his lifetime and exile.)

Example (3) is especially noticeable. The present participle *libbendum* (<*libban* live), a variant of *lifgendum*, is co-ordinately connected by *of adræfdum*. The latter is a past participle and is in the same dative case as the former. *Adræfdum* is the dative past participle of *adræfan* (=drive away, expel); and the preceding adverb *of* (=off, away) is prefixed to the main word so as to form part of a compound after the fashion of OE syntax. So *of-adræfdum*, meaning literally "driven away," as well as *libbendum* (=living), is appositively appended to *him*.

This indicates that the phrase *be him lifgendum* was not altogether felt as a set formula. It represents a type of syntactic combination in OE. Moreover it

¹¹ This *hie* is an accusative used as reflexive object of *gedældun* (or *gedældon*), plural preterite of (*ge*)*dælan* (=divide).

seems instructive to us that here is revealed an essential characteristic in early English syntax. In this combination each significant element is accumulated one after another, so that the intended meaning is analytically expressed with simple concreteness.

§ 11. It must be admitted that there is another way of explaining the OE phrase "be him lifgendum."¹² In OE the construction with a so-called dative absolute was fairly common, mostly due to the influence of the ablative absolute construction in Latin. In the following example the italic part is a dative absolute.

Hym þa gyt spreceðdum, hig comon fram þam heahgesamnungum.—

Mark v. 35. (While he was still speaking, they came from the chief synagogue.)

The combination *hym spreceðdum* in this sentence implies a temporal adverbial relation to the main statement "hig comon..." If we were to convey the implied sense of temporal relation more explicitly, we should have recourse to some formal means expressive of it. *Be* in *be him lifgendum* can be interpreted as a demanded means that has been added to express more clearly the temporal relation implied by the dative absolute "*him lifgendum*."¹³

Even if this second explanation may be admitted, we can still see the same characteristic in the style of expression "be him lifgendum"—appositional and so primitively concrete. But the expression scarcely survived in the ME period.

4. The Morphological Change of the Present Participle in ME

§ 12. Before entering into the observation of the construction in ME we should like to survey how the form of the present participle got confused with that of the gerund in *-ing* in the course of the ME period. Generally speaking, the variant forms of the present participle in ME properly inherited from OE were *-inde* in the Southern dialect, *-ende* in the Midland dialect, and *-and(e)* in the Northern dialect. Already in the early part of the thirteenth century the old form of the present participle began to be supplanted by the new form *-ing(e)*, which had been the original ending of the verbal substantive or gerund. This supersession first took place in the Southern dialect (except the Kentish), then in the Midland, and finally in the Northern. In *The Owl and the Nightingale*, a poem written in the Southern dialect in 1225, there appears *-inge* concurrently with *-inde*. There is the trace of fluctuation between *-ynde* and *-ynge* in Langland's *Piers Plowman* (Text C), a long poem written in the West Midland dialect in 1393; while Chaucer's poems (1365—99), representative of the East Midland dialect, are decidedly in favour of *-yng*. In the Northern dialect we still see *-and*

¹² Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik* III. p. 78.

¹³ We might here compare the following example, where *be* has been added to a dative absolute phrase which has no participle in it and denotes an attendant circumstance.

Gif elles be cwicum mannum ciricgrið abrocen beo...—*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* [A.-S. D., Sup.] (If otherwise the sanctuary be broken through by the men living, i.e. without anybody being killed,...)

in *Cursor Mundi* (1300—40), but yet in Misyn's *Documents of Yorkshire* in the fifteenth century *-and* and *-ing* are used promiscuously. It may be cursorily concluded that the use of the new form *-ing(e)* went on expanding from the end of the fourteenth century down to the fifteenth century, finally contaminating the Northern dialect.¹⁴

§ 13. It would be both interesting and instructive now to inquire into the factors that had brought about the phonological and morphological confusion between *-end* and *-ing*. There are three factors to be considered.

(1) Special significance should be attached to the fact that the confusion first took place in the Southern dialect, where the old traditional form of the present participle was *-inde*, a form weakened from OE *-ende*. As the ending of the gerund, on the other hand, *-ing* had been retained in the Southwestern dialect till about 1250, but after that the form was scarcely found, the ending *-ing* having been generally established (cf. § 33). Moreover there was a growing tendency to confuse *-inde*, as the ending of the present participle, with *-inge* in the Southern (except Kentish) dialect about that time.

Now it is inferred that the Southern participial form *-inde* had the least resistance to be superseded by *-inge*; the other forms *-ende* and *-and(e)* were retained much longer, in clear contrast with the gerundial form *-yng* or *-ing*. The reason may be easily ascribed to the phonetic contiguity between the two forms *-inde* and *-inge*.¹⁵ The process from *-nd* [nd] to *-ng*, which is supposed to represent the sound [ŋg], is merely the result of the simple substitution in the points of articulation, that is, the shifting from alveolar to velar. Furthermore we may assume that the substitution had been greatly prompted by the presence of the preceding vowel *i*, for in the points of articulation [i] is much closer to the velar [ŋ] than to the alveolar [n]. In short, it was phonetically easier to pass from *-ind* to *-ing* than to pass from *-end* or *-and* to *-ing*.

(2) Besides the articulatory assimilation of [ind] to [iŋg], there is another phonetical process to be assumed.¹⁶ The pronunciation of both *-ind(e)* and *-ing(e)* had already become indistinct in the thirteenth century, and it is probable that both the endings were soon pronounced [in'] with the paratalized *n*. The morphological confusion can be attributed to this phonological levelling.

We should be reminded, in this respect, that the modern dialects of Northumberland and the southern counties of Scotland have preserved the formal distinction of a present participle and a gerund, but that with the general obscuration of the final consonants, the endings have resulted in most cases in [-ən] (<*-and*) on one hand and [-in] (<*-ing*) on the other.¹⁷

The two phonetical factors mentioned about under (1) and (2) must not be

¹⁴ The description in this section mainly depends upon Mossé, *F.P.* II. §§ 131–139.

¹⁵ Mossé, *F.P.* II. § 156.

¹⁶ Langenhove, *The Origin of the Gerund* § 2. 3. 5 (c); Brunner, *Die englische Sprache* I. p. 169, II. p. 349.

¹⁷ OED s.v. *-ING*².

considered separately. They probably acted simultaneously, reciprocally influencing each other, to bring about the confusion.

(3) The next to be considered is an external factor. OED (s.v. -ING²) says that the confusion between *-inde* and *-inge* "is specially noticeable in MSS. written by Anglo-Norman scribes in the thirteenth century." As we shall see in some examples quoted in the following sections, there were a number of works in those days which had been translated, either directly or indirectly, from the originals written in Old French or Norman French. It is very likely that the scribes of those translations were often encumbered by the confused use of the French verbal ending in *-ant*¹⁸ when they were going to express a present participle or a gerund in English. From the geographical situation, we can judge that the effect of the scribal influence was most apparent in the literature of Southern England.

These are the factors that were considered to cause the confusion of *-inde* and *-inge* in the Southern dialect. Here we see the reason why the transition of *-end* to *-ing* took place later in the Midland and Northern dialects, which are usually more radical in morphological changes.

5. "Verb+Object+Participle" in ME

§ 14. We are in a position to observe the actual examples of the "accusative and participle" construction found in ME. The farther we advanced into the ME period, the wider we came to see the construction expanded in use. The commonest kind of verbs that introduced it were, as in OE (cf. § 7), verbs of sensuous or mental perception. Let us first cite the examples containing this kind of verbs.

(1) He *saw* his wyves moder *liggynge* and shakun.—Wyclif, *Matt.* viii. 14. (He saw his wife's mother lying and shaken.)

(2) He *saugh* a mayde *walkinge* him biforn.—Chaucer, *C. T.*, "The Tale of the Wyf of Bathe" 30. (He saw a maid walking before him.)

(3) In erth I *see* bot syn *reynand*.—*The Towneley Mysteries* ((c. 1450)) [Mätsner]. (On earth I see only sin reigning.)

(4) I haue seyne Charite also syngen and reden, Ryden and rennen in ragged wedes, Ac *beddyng* as beggeres *bihelde* I hym neuere.—Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B) xv. 219-221 ((1377)). (I have seen Charity also sing and read, ride and run in ragged garments, but I never beheld him begging as beggars.)

(5) I *herde* thi fader *spekyng*.—Wyclif, *Gen.* xxvii. 6. (I heard thy father speaking.)

(6) When that she *hereth* any herde tale Or in the hegges any wight *steringe*,....—Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* iii. 1235-6. (When she *i.e.* the nightingale hears any shepherd speak or any person stirring in the hedges,...)

(7) We *heren* hors *nygenge* and cokkes *crowinge*.—*The Voiage and Travaile*

¹⁸ Compare the second footnote (51) under § 38.

of *Sir John Maundeville* ((c. 1400)) [Koch]. (We hear horses neighing and cocks crowing.)

(8) He *foonde hem slepinge*.—Wyclif, *Matt.* xxvi. 40. (He found them sleeping.)

(9) He...*fand him slowmand* on slepe.—*The Wars of Alexander* ((c. 1400-50)) [Koziol]. (He found him sleeping.)

Of the examples above, the first four contain the verb "see" or its synonym "behold", the next three the verb "hear," and the last two the verb "find." In example (1) the present participle *liggyng* (=lying) is used co-ordinately with the past participle *shakun* (=shaken). In example (3) we had the old participial form *reynand*. This is because the work from which this passage is quoted was written in Yorkshire, where, as in the other districts in North England, the form in *-and* had been retained in the fifteenth century. Examples (4) and (6) present a common syntactic feature. In (4) the sentence including a participle-construction is co-ordinated by *ac* (=but) with a parallel sentence including an infinitive-construction introduced by the predicate verb *haue seyne* (=have seen). In (6) the verb *hereth* introduces the two co-ordinate expressions combined by *or*, where the participle *steringe* (=stirring) appears in the same functional position as the infinitive *tale* (=tell a tale). These phenomena show that the "accusative and participle" construction had been becoming as popular as the "accusative and infinitive" construction (cf. § 5). It is moreover conceivable that the participles here have displayed the special descriptive value with their imperfective aspect, as contrasted with the perfective aspect implied by the infinitives, though in such poetic examples we should also recollect the metrical influence upon the expression.¹⁹

§ 15. In ME it was not only verbs of perception that were used to introduce the construction in question. Below we shall cite some examples that contain other kinds of verbs.

(1) Thus *left* me that lady *liggyng* aslepe.—Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B) ii. 51 ((c. 1377)). (Thus that lady left me lying asleep.)

(2) I *lefte* hem *lyynge* there.—*Chevalere Assigne* ((a. 1400)) [Koziol]. (I left them lying there.)

(3) *Lete* I this noble prince Theseus Toward Athenes in his wey *rydinge*.—Chaucer, *Aneliida and Arcite* 45-46 ((c. 1374)). (I will leave this noble prince Theseus riding on his way towards Athens.)

(4) A man that is joyous and glad in herte, it him *conserveth flourishinge* in his age.—Chaucer, *C.T.* ((c. 1386)) [Mätsner]. (...in heart, it conserves him flourishing....)

¹⁹ Compare the following ModE examples:

(1) Thee I *have heard relating* what was done Ere my remembrance; now *hear* me *relate* My story, which, perhaps, thou hast not heard.—Milton, *Paradise Lost* viii. 203-205.

(2) I *see* women *marrying* indiscriminately with staring burgesses and ferret-faced, white-eyed boys, and men *dwell* in contentment with noisy scullions, or *taking* into their lives aciduous vestals.—Stevenson, *Virginius Puerisque* i.

(5) My dowte dothe *aprevyn* Cryst *levynge* fful bolde.—*Ludus Coventriac* ((14..)) [Mätsner]. (My doubt does approve Christ living very boldly.)

The verb *leave*, as in examples (1) and (2), began to be used in the thirteenth century in the construction where its object is followed by some appositive adjunct, meaning either "allow to remain" as here or more concretely "depart from."²⁰ The present participle has naturally performed the function as such an appositive adjunct of an object.

In example (3) the predicate verb *lete* (=let), which is usually accompanied by a bare infinitive as objective complement, would now appear curious in introducing a participle-construction. The meaning here denoted, however, is not causative; *lete* is rather synonymous with "leave." The present participle *rydinge* implies the durative state of a person denoted by the object "this noble prince Theseus." We can see that the sense of ModE *let* has been specialized as compared with that of the verb in Chaucer's age.²¹

The use of the verbs in examples (4) and (5) seem to be somewhat special even in ME. *Conserveth* in (4) would be replaced by *keeps* in ModE. The meaning of (5) would usually be expressed in ModE by the construction: "...*approve* Christ *to be* living..." (cf. OED, s.v. APPROVE v.¹ 4).²² Nevertheless these special cases show the potentiality of the present participle that has enabled the "accusative and participle" construction to become so popular in the ModE period.

§ 16. The peculiar ME use of the present participle in the same function is seen with factitive or causative *make*, which is now usually used with a bare infinitive as objective complement.

(1) New tithand That *makes* me ful wele *lykand*.—*The Proces of the Sevin Sages* ((c. 1320)) [Mätsner]. (The new message that makes me very well pleasing.)

(2) Some men wille noght understande, þat þat mught *mak* þam *dredande*.—Rolle of Hampole, *The Pricke of Conscience* ((c. 1340)) [Koch]. (Some people will not understand that that might make them dreading.)

(3) Þe sternes þou *made* on þe sky *standande* and the planettes in þeire course *passande*.—*Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* ((c. 1440)) [Koch]. (Thou made the stars standing in the sky and the planets passing in their course.)

²⁰ OED s.v. LEAVE v.¹ 3d, 7b. Also compare example (10) under § 20 and example (1) under § 23.

²¹ In the following example *lete* seems to introduce a similar construction, but actually *rominge* (=roaming) should be viewed in another light.

And thus I *lete* him sitte up-on the pyrie, And Januarie and May *rominge* myrie.—Chaucer, C.T., "The Marchantes Tale" 973–4. (And thus I leave him sitting on the pear-tree, with January and May roaming merrily.) The phrase introduced by the second "and" is not dependent on the predicate verb *lete*, but is rather independently attached to express an attendant circumstance like an "absolute construction."

²² The form *aprevyn* (cf. OED, s.v. APPREVE) is the northern and especially Scottish equivalent of *aprove* (=approve). It is originally the adapted form of OF *a(p)preuve*, the tonic stem of *aprover*.

The present participles above, which all happen to appear in the old distinct form *-and(e)* in the examples quoted from the Northern or Midland works, seem to be what have been turned into adjectives rather than the original verbals. Especially, *lykand* (=pleasing) and *dredande* (=dreadful) in examples (1) and (2) clearly denote permanent static conditions, not imperfective actions or movements.

In any case, this use of the present participle has now become obsolete. Instead we should now use either a real adjective if some resultant state is to be expressed as predicative of the object, or a bare infinitive if we are to express an action of one agent caused by another. Unlike an infinitive, in general, a present participle ordinarily denotes the durative and imperfective aspect of an action, and so is unfit to express an ingressive or effective action involved by the causative sense of the verb "make."

As a rare instance of ModE, which seems a remnant of the ME usage here described, we can cite:

- (4) What *makes* the bread *rising*?...What makes the mutton five-pence a pound?—Goldsmith, *The Good-Natur'd Man* iii.

The participle *rising* in "What makes the bread rising?" is capable of implying the current situation that the price of the bread is really rising, so that it has a unique semantic value that cannot be perceived in the infinitive *rise*. Although the expression may sound rather curious to a present-day speaker, a light, vivid and expressive style is displayed in this short sentence.²³

6. "Preposition+Object+Participle" in ME

§ 17. Just as a transitive verb introduces an "accusative and participle" construction, so a preposition can be used as an introductory word for the same construction. The latter usage, however, was only gradually developed in the ME period (cf. § 10). *With* is the chief preposition in this use.

- (1) *Pe stok nest þe roote growand Es the heved with nek folowand.*—Rolle of Hampole, *The Pricke of Conscience* ((c. 1340)) [Curme]. (The stock growing next the root is the head with the neck following.)

- (2) *Ho ragt hym a riche rynk...With a starande ston stondande alofte.*—*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* ((c. 1360)) [Kozioł]. (She reached him a rich man with a glittering stone standing aloft.)

- (3) *Upon hir humble face he gan biholde, With fadres pitee stiking thurgh his herte.*—Chaucer, *C.T.*, "The Phisiciens Tale" 210-1 ((c. 1386)). (Upon her humble face he beheld, with the father's pity sticking through his heart.)

- (4) *All his shelde was to shew shynyng of gold, With þre lions lyvely launchound perin.*—*The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* ((c. 1400))

²³ Besides OED (s.v. MAKE v.¹ 45) records a special obsolete idiom concerning falconry "make a hawk flying" as in:

If you woulde make your hawke flying to the Partridge, or Feasant,...—Turbervile, *Falconrie* ((1575)).

[Koziol]. (All his shield was to show the shining of gold, with three lions lively leaping therein.)

(5) Oure inhabetting...is an Ilee...*With rynand* all aboute our erd an endles watre.—*The Wars of Alexander* (c. 1400—50) [Koziol] (Our dwelling is an island with an endless water touching all about our ground.)

The construction began to be seen in the fourteenth century,²⁴ and as we shall observe later (§ 25), has kept on growing lustily in the ModE period. That the *-ing* form there is a present participle, not a gerund, is evidently proved by the form *-and(e)* in the examples, except (3), which are cited from the works written in Northern England or Northwestern Midland. Functionally it is adjunctively related to the preceding, or, as in example (5), following, noun and at the same time adds some complementary predication about the latter. The noun, in turn, is connected with the preposition *with* to the main part of the sentence. The construction represents an additional or cumulative style of expression—the style so characteristic of the tradition of English syntax.

§ 18. It is possible to interpret the *with*-construction as the more explicit substitute for the "nominative absolute," which had been turned from the "dative absolute" in OE. Similar interpretation has been described concerning OE *be him lifgendum* in § 11. In view of the general equivalency we may admit the theory that the two constructions have been fused; yet it must be noticed that there is a striking difference in the stylistic features between them. The *with*-construction has far more natural adaptability to grow on in English syntax than the absolute construction.

As to the nature of this construction, furthermore, Kellner (*Historical Outlines of English Syntax* § 154) says that it "has a certain resemblance to that used in Gothic and Old Norse," as if to suggest the presence of some influence exerted by those old Germanic languages. Whatever origin it may be primarily ascribed to, the expression "*with nek folowand*" is so characteristic of English syntax that we may safely affirm with Curme (*Syntax* p. 156) that "it is native English."

7. "Verb+Object+Participle" in ModE

§ 19. In ModE the use of the "accusative and participle" construction has become much more wide-spread. It has been introduced not only by verbs of perception but by several other kinds of verbs. In the syntactic use of these verbs, we see a remarkable parallelism between the two constructions "accusative and infinitive" and "accusative and participle" as in the following couples of sentences.

<p>{ I saw him come. I saw him coming.</p>	<p>{ I don't like him to go there. I don't like him going there.</p>
--	--

²⁴ OED (s.v. *With prep.* 3b) records the one example belonging to the late thirteenth century, though it contains an adjective instead of a present participle. It is:

With one haltre ope pe mere forth rod pis holi man.—The Early South-English Legendary (c. 1290). (With one halter open this holy man rode the mare forth.)

It is evidently true that the participle-construction has made rapid advance especially since the beginning of the ModE period, so much so that it seems as if it had been endeavouring to vie and catch up with the infinitive-construction. In this respect we cannot agree with the remark of Koch (*Satzlehre* § 133) that the participle-construction has been gradually displaced by the infinitive-construction. Although we cannot help admitting the concise facility of the infinitive-construction, the fact is that the present participle has been and will be growing in this use with its inherent potentiality, both semantic and stylistic.

Now it would be convenient to classify the introductory verbs into three groups from the semantic point of view,²⁵ so that we may be able to arrange the examples more systematically. Those groups are:

a. Verbs of sensuous or mental perception, such as *see, hear, find, feel, observe, watch, perceive, notice, catch*, etc.

b. Verbs that imply or involve a durative state, such as *leave, keep, have, get, send*, etc.

c. Verbs of psychological state or activity, such as *understand, remember, recollect, imagine, fancy, like, hate, want*, etc.

Of these groups of verbs, we can first notice that only a few belonging to groups **a** and **b** are in the same use as in OE and ME, but all the others have come to be newly used with the construction in the ModE period. It is true that many of them introduce the "accusative and infinitive" construction as well, but we must also observe that some belonging to groups **b** and **c**, such as *keep, remember, recollect*, etc., can only be used with the "accusative and participle" construction.

§ 20. First we shall see the examples quoted from works in the first three centuries of the ModE period. Most of them show the continuation of the usage in OE and ME which contains such verbs as *see, hear, find, leave*, etc. There must also be exemplified the use of the important verbs *feel, observe, keep* and *imagine*, which has newly been found in ModE. The examples will be arranged according to the groups of verbs mentioned in the previous section.

a. (1) Sone after none thys mother...*Sawe* from the body, the soule *de-partyng*.—*Prymer in Englysche and Latyn* ((1536)) [OED]. (Soon after noon this mother saw the soul departing from the body, *i.e.* of her son.)

(2) And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he *saw* a man, named Matthew, *sitting* at the receipt of custom.—A. V., *Matt.* ix. 9 ((1611)).

(3) As I *heard* once a doctor of Divinite...earnestly *defendyng* his cause with examples...—T. Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* ((1551)) [OED].

(4) I *hear* him *coming*.—Shakespeare, *Hamlet*. III. i. 55 ((1600—1)).

(5) O, thus I *found* her, *straying* in the park, Seeking to hide herself.—*Id.*, *Tit. A.* III. i. 88—89 ((1593—4)).

(6) I...find thee knowing not of beasts alone,...but of thyself.—Milton,

²⁵ The classification, however, is far from strict. It should be understood, for instance, that *find* and *feel* sometimes have the sense that ought to make them belong to group **c**.

Paradise Lost viii. 437-9 ((1667)).

(7) When the Genowayes *felt* the Arrowes *pearcyng* (=piercing) thorough their heads, armes and breastes....—Grafton, *A Chronicle of England* ((1568)) [OED].

(8) Then all on a sudden (I) *felt* myself *falling* perpendicularly down for above a minute.—Swift, "Works" [Jespersen].

(9) It was there, from the window, that the young lady happened to *observe* one of my little boys *playing* in the street.—Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield* xxxi ((1766)).

As to example (2) some comment should be made. In Tindale's version of 1526, earlier than the Authorized Version from which the quotation has been taken, the infinitive is used in this very passage instead of the present participle, in this way: "...he sawe a man *sytt* (=sit) at the receyte off custume...". According to Delcourt (*Initiation* § 141), the infinitive here is used only by Tindale and Coverdale (whose version was published in 1535), every other biblical translator, either older or newer, having recourse to the present participle.²⁶ This proves that the participle is more adapted to the context than the infinitive in spite of the syntactic parallelism of the two verbals.²⁷

Example (5) should also be noticed in that there is an apparent pause (printed as a comma) between "found her" and "straying." This phenomenon reveals that the participle in this construction is intrinsically adjunctive and is liable to be connected with the preceding noun or pronoun more loosely than is the gerund or even the infinitive in similar constructions (cf. § 22).

b. (10) Then did *leave* us *sticking* in the myre.—A. Fleming, *A Panoplie of Epistles* ((1576)) [OED].

(11) So poor, that it is hardly able to *keep* the Pot *boiling* for a Parsons Dinner.—Heylin, *Ecclesia Restaurata* ((1661)) [OED].

From such use as in the last example *keep the pot boiling* has come to mean figuratively "go on providing one's livelihood" or, further generalized, "keep anything going briskly" (cf. OED, s.v. *Por sb.*¹ 13e).²⁸

c. (12) Be now the father and propose a son,
Hear your own dignity so much profaned,
See your most dreadful laws so loosely slighted,
Behold yourself so by a son disdained;
And then *imagine* me *taking* your part
And in your power soft *silencing* your son.

—Shakespeare, *2 Hen. IV* v. ii. 92-97 ((1597)).

²⁶ Compare example (2) under § 7 and also § 8.

²⁷ Compare also the note of OED (s.v. *SEE* v. 1e): "In early examples the infinitive is often found when we should now use the complementary participle."

²⁸ OED also records a following example.

To employ them, as a literary man is always tempted, to keep the domestic pot *a-boiling*.—Lowell, *My Study Windows* ((1870)).

Here *a-boiling* shows that *boiling* is a gerund. But since this is a far later quotation than example (11) above, which is the earliest one in this use given by OED, we might judge that *boiling* in this expression is originally a participle and that the appearance of the gerundial form is rather a temporary phenomenon due to the analogy of "set a thing going" or "send a person packing" as described in § 23.

The example has been quoted in a longer context, though the construction in question is found only in the last two lines. This is because we want to show clearly that *taking* and *silencing* are present participles. They might be interpreted as gerunds if only the sentence were to be considered separately (cf. § 55). We can see in this context that the two *-ing* forms are expressed as predicatives of the object, as are the past participles *profaned*, *slighted* and *disdained* in the three preceding lines. The successive constructions here are symmetrically paralleled with one another, so that the whole forms a concrete, cumulative style.

§ 21. After the nineteenth century onwards, the number of verbs used with the "accusative and participle" construction has remarkably increased. Below it would be sufficient to mention one example for each verb.

a. (1) He had walked about half an hour when he *saw* Cornelius *coming* along the path.—Hardy, *Life's Little Ironies*, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" iv.

(2) While we were disputing about the ring, I *heard* a mournful voice *calling* "Án-tonia, Án-tonia!"—Cather, *My Ántonia* I. iii.

(3) When, one day, from the top of Talfound Hill, he *beheld* the sea *lying* open to his view,...—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(4) After all she had said of Mrs. Driffeld it must seem strange to me that I should *find* them *sitting* there together chattering away and laughing.²⁹—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* vii.

(5) One...got nearer and nearer the sea, *felt* the cold and wet and discomfort *growing* on one, and....—Belloc, *On Nothing*, "On Railways and Things."

(6) As she spoke, she *observed* him *looking* at her earnestly.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*.

(7) She just *watched* her only friend *eating* it.—Galsworthy, *Caravan*, "The Bright Side."

(8) Winterbourne *perceived* at some distance a little man *standing* with folded arms nursing his cane.—H. James, *Daisy Miller* ii.

(9) One day, climbing on Great Gable, he *noticed* a girl *waving* excitedly from a dangerous-looking ledge.—Hilton, *Good-Bye, Mr. Chips* iv.

(10) As he chuckled he *noted* the numbness *creeping* into the exposed fingers.³⁰—London, *To Build a Fire*.

(11) Ashurst *eyed* her *laying* them (=the dresses) against her own modish

²⁹ The participles *chattering* and *laughing* in this example, though functioning as predicate appositive in relation to the object *them*, are dependent on *sitting*, and so cannot be considered to be in the same status as the latter. That is also the case with example (8).

³⁰ In the same context the sentence immediately following this contains a *that*-clause as object of *noted*, as follows:

Also, he noted *that the stinging* which had first come to his toes when he sat down *was already passing away*.

Though the verb *note* more usually introduces a subordinate clause and the construction is required especially when we intend to express some longer and more intricate content of fact as in this quotation, yet we see that the expression of the participle-construction in example (10) above can adequately form part of a simple, straightforward style. Cf. also § 21

figure.—Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* vii.

(12) I *detected* myself *staring* more frequently at the open doorway and blank window than I could find warrant for doing.—Bierce, *Can Such Things Be?*, "The Secret of Macarger's Gulch."

(13) Though celebrated for the amount of work he got through, she never *caught* him *doing* any in this house of theirs.—Galsworthy, *The Dark Flower*, "Spring" ii.

Many of the verbs in these examples are indeed used with the "accusative and infinitive" construction as well, but it is noteworthy that some are incapable of introducing the infinitive-construction. It would be difficult to find any instance where *eye* or *detect*, as in example(11) or (12), is accompanied by its object and an infinitive instead of a present participle. As to *catch*, as in the last example, Curme (*Syntax* p. 125) affirms that it is the participle, not the infinitive, that is regularly used after it.

These verbs, from their semantic implication, usually require the objects that refer to some concrete persons or things; and if the writer wants to add some further complementary expressions denoting manners or circumstances of actions, they will naturally assume the nature of adjectival or even adverbial adjuncts. Especially *catch* in the sense "come upon suddenly or unexpectedly" is also construed with "a person *in* or *at* some action" (OED s.v. CATCH v. 9). This informs us that the use of a participle is more suited than that of an infinitive in the context where the complementary addition to the object is more in the adjunctive nature.

§ 22. In order to reveal the intrinsic nature of the participle-construction more manifestly, we shall quote some instances where the participles are added to the objects with apparently looser combination.

(1) And suddenly he *saw* her at her window, *looking* out.—Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* iv.

(2) And he *heard* a voice—Alicia's—*speaking*. "The lovely, lovely world!"—Id, *Caravan*, "Spindleberries."

(3) Very early that morning two brothers...*found* a good way from Brenzett, an ordinary ship's hencoop, *lying* high and dry on the shore, with eleven drowned ducks inside.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(4) *Watching* his friend, *lying* there, with that smile, and the candle-light on his face, Ashurst shuddered.—Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* vii.

When we compare example (2) above with example (2) under the previous section, we can discern that common characteristic of the participles after the noun "voice" which is fundamentally adjunctive rather than predicative. It would be instructive further to compare the following example.

(5) I was still occupied with my idle fancies when I *heard* a taxi *stop* at the door, the bell *ring*, and in a moment Alroy Kear's booming voice *telling* the butler that he had an appointment with me.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xi.

Apart from the difference in the aspects denoted by the verbals, we must observe that the combination between *Kear's...voice* and *telling* is looser and less nexal than that between *a taxi* and *stop* and *the bell* and *ring*.

Again with the verb *see*, the participle performs an evidently characteristic function of adding a concrete perceptive description to the object. But when the verb implies a more abstract or figurative sense and has to be accompanied as its object by the expression of some visual or mental content comparable to an abstract fact, the resultant construction is "*see*+a subordinate clause"³¹. The transition from the one construction to the other is sometimes delicate, and moreover much depends upon contextual restraints and rhetorical technique. Nevertheless we can see the distinct stylistic features in the respective constructions. The following passage quoted from the last part of the *Tale of Two Cities* describes what Sydney Carton is supposed to see in his mind's eye just before his execution.

(6) I see the lives for which I lay down my life...in that England which I shall see no more....I see the good old man, so long their friend, in ten years' time *enriching* them with all he has, and *passing* tranquilly to his reward. I see that I hold a sanctuary in their hearts, and in the hearts of their descendants hence.—Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* III. xv.

Here the three different constructions appear side by side with the same verb *see*. First it is followed by a single substantive object, next by a participle-construction, and then by a *that*-clause. In the last construction the abstract implication of the verb is structurally symbolized to the highest degree, while the two others are still suggestive of the concreteness in its literal sense.

§ 23. b. Among the group of verbs which imply or involve a durative state and which have been used with the construction during the last two centuries, *leave* and *keep* should be first mentioned. Compare examples (10) and (11) under § 20.

(1) She gave me an uncertain look and, saying she would go and see, left me *standing* in the passage.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* viii.

(2) They (=Railways) *keep* the small towns *going*.—Belloc, *On Nothing, "On Railways and Things."*

Besides these, what specially attracts our attention is the use of *have*. *Have*, construed with an object and a predicative, may mean "get (something) into a specified condition" (OED s.v. HAVE *v.* 17a); but it is only recently³² that the present participle has come to appear as predicative of the object. The rise of this new usage is apparently due to the analogy of the well-established construction "*have*+object+bare infinitive" as in "I will have him *come*." Below some actual examples will be given.

³¹ OED s.v. SEE *v.* 3, 4.

³² OED does not record this use of *have*. It may be inferred from Poutsma (*Gram.* xx. 21a) that Jane Austen is the first to use *have* in this construction, as follows:

I am sure, from his manner, that you will *have* him *calling* here soon.—*Persuasion* ((1818)).

(3) "You know we *have* an author *living* here," he said.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* viii.

(4) When the day comes, they make off by motor-car, and as likely as not *have* a steam-yacht *waiting* for them on the coast.—Milne, *If I May*, "The Etiquette of Escape."

We can see that the intrinsic meaning of *have* in this use is neutral and colourless, and so the complementary participle displays a good deal of predicative force, often, as in the examples above, expressing the durative aspect. Herein lies the stylistic value of the participle as contrasted with that of the infinitive, though the constructions are parallel.³³ It is but natural, however, that *have* is made to imply a causative or passive sense by the context, just as when it is accompanied by an infinitive-construction.

(5) I won't *have* you *swearing* in front of the boy.—Greene, *The Basement Room* i.

(6) He'll hate *having* a lot of strangers *barging* in on him like this.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* iv.

At any rate the present participle is more descriptive and so seems to be more favoured in modern colloquialism than the bare infinitive in the same use.

With respect to this use of *have* we must next consider the parallel use of *get*.

(7) A pretty girl like Darling Jill has *got* everything *coming* her way, anyhow, and she knows it.—Caldwell, *God's Little Acre* ii.

(8) I ache all over, an' I *got* it *coming*.—Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*.

The usage seems to be popular in modern American colloquialism. *Has got* in example (7) might be interpreted as colloquial variant of *has*, but we must observe the difference of expressiveness between *has got* and *has*. *Has got* expresses an active sense of securing something for oneself, while simple *has* suggests a somewhat passive, neutral idea. In *has got* we can recognize the active force of the verb *get*, which has invested the collocation "*get*+object+*~ing*" with a more factitive sense, as compared with "*have*+object+*~ing*." "*Get it coming*," as in example (8), is also the variant of the idiomatic expression "*have it coming* (to one)," which means "deserve something," as for instance in:

(9) You *had* it *coming* to you.—Paine, *Comrades of the Rolling Ocean* [D.A.].

Here also we can feel that *have* implies the neutral sense of experience, while *get* is more expressive in itself and so fitter to lively colloquialism.

Next we shall mention some more examples with similar expressions where the main verbs are more active in their sense and are more liable to imply a causative force.

(10) To alarm him would but *send* him *dashing* to his camp with his fatal

³³ In the following example the free position of the participle should be noticed; for such inversion would be felt awkward in the case of the infinitive.

One day we went to tea at Mrs. Greencurt's, who *had staying* with her a cousin, the wife of an Oxford don,....—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* viii.

news.—Bierce, *In the Midst of Life*, "A Horseman in the Sky."

(11) But in the light, porous soil of my garden on the chalk hills digging goes with a swing and a rhythm that *set* the thoughts *singing* like the birds.—Gardiner, "On a Distant View of a Pig."

(12) The private member...*started* the ball *rolling* by attacking the government.—*Daily Express* ((1901)) [OED].

The *-ing* forms used after these verbs *send*, *set* and *start* may be interpreted to be originally gerunds. In the expression "*send* a person *packing*," which means "dismiss him summarily," *packing* may have been corrupted from *on packing*, *a-packing*.³⁴ Indeed, as to the idiomatic expression "*set* a thing *going*," OED (s.v. *Set* v. 114 b, c, d) illustrates that *going* has come from *on (to, or obs. in) going*, *a-going*.³⁵ The similar expression "*start* an engine *running*" is analogous to "*start* an engine *to run*"; and from its ingressive nature *running* had better be explained as a gerund.

All these unprepositional *-ing* forms, however, express the durative aspect of some resultant action or movement so descriptively that, from the PE point of view, we can safely affirm they are now felt as participles. The reality is that the simple *-ing* form has been favoured in PE more than the prepositional *-ing* form: "That set me *thinking*" is now much commoner than "That set me *to thinking*." In the diachronical process from the gerund to the participle here perceived, there is represented a characteristic tendency in English syntax.

§ 24. c. Most verbs of mentality have newly come to be used with the "accusative and participle" construction from the nineteenth century onwards. The question arises here whether the *-ing* forms may be gerunds, not participles (cf. § 55). But from what has been observed about example (12) under § 20, we can infer that they are genetically participles. Moreover, in the following examples, we should notice the rather loose combination of the *-ing* forms with the preceding nouns or pronouns, to which they have added some descriptive predication with their durative or imperfective aspect.

(1) Imagine yourself in the dock, on whatever charge it may be, and *imagine* this and that friend *coming* forward to speak for you.—Milne, *If I May*, "Not Guilty."

(2) But *fancy* Caroline *travelling* across the continent of Europe with a chit of a girl, who will be more of a charge than an assistance.—Hardy, *Alicia's Diary* vii.

(3) He *pictured* the saturnine Gottlieb not at all *enjoying* the triumph but, with locked door, *abusing* the papers for their exaggerative reports of his

³⁴ Compare the third footnote (28) under § 20. OED (s.v. *PACK* v.¹ 10b), however, records no instance where the prepositional gerund is used. The first quotation with this construction is exemplified from as early as the sixteenth century:

I would...*send* him *packing*.—Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* ((1594)).

³⁵ According to OED, the use of the type *in going* is first exemplified from c. 1440, that of the type *a-going* from 1530, and that of *going* from 1577, the quotation of which is:

The...Gadarits *set packing* the stoutest of them.—M. Hanmer, *The Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories*.

work.—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith* XXIV. i.

(4) I *recollect* my old governor *caning* me in that little room.—Thackeray, *Pendennis* [Jespersen].

(5) Willcox expedited the deed, and I *remember* him *telling* me he had a great pleasure in making it ready.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(6) I can *understand* the landlord *deciding* to throw in the walls and the roof.—Milne, *If I May*, "Fixtures and Fittings."

(7) I don't quite *like* my children *going* away from home.—Hardy, *Tess* vi.

(8) I don't *want* you *bumping* around in a wagon much.—Cather, *Obscure Destinies*, "Neighbour Rosicky" i.

In example (1), we should notice the parallel constructions: "*imagine*+object +*in the dock*" and "*imagine*+object+*coming*." Here *coming* is apparently placed in the same syntactic position as the prepositional phrase *in the dock*, and therefore should be interpreted as a participle that functions as predicative adjunct of the object. The same cumulative style of expression can be especially remarkable in example (3). The two participles *enjoying* and *abusing* introduce the vivid supplementary description about the object which is in itself concrete enough. The patterns "*like*+object+*~ing*" and "*want*+object+*~ing*" as in examples (7) and (8) are modern substitutes for the older "*like* or *want*+object +*to*-infinitive." The newer expression is felt more descriptive and so seems fitter to the vivid colloquial style, as is the case with "*have*+object+*~ing*" described in the previous section.⁸⁶ It is the function of the participle, not the gerund, that is corresponding to that of the infinitive in this kind of construction. It would be instructive now to notice that as to the verb *like* OED (s. v. *LIKE* v.¹ 6c) records an example of a concrete construction with a past participle dated 1805⁸⁷ earlier than examples with *to*-infinitives which are quoted from 1849 and 1887, apart from a much earlier example (1534) of an abstract construction with a *that*-clause as object.

It must be admitted that there are some instances in ModE where some of the verbs here exemplified also introduce the construction that is distinctly gerundial. The phenomenon will be afresh observed in § 55.

8. "Preposition+Object+Participle" in ModE

§ 25. The use of the construction governed by the preposition has been remarkably expanded in the ModE period. First after *with* the construction has grown more and more popular. Cf. §§ 17, 18.

(1) I stood like a man at a mark, *with* a whole army *shooting* at me.—Shakespeare, *Much Ado* II. i. 254.

⁸⁶ Speaking particularly, we perceive another difference. In most instances the participle-construction follows the negative forms of the main verbs, while there is no such restriction with the infinitive-construction.

⁸⁷ The quotation is:

Would he *like* the subject *discussed* in newspapers?—J. H. Newman, *Letters and Correspondence*.

(2) They are to be fish'd for there, *with* your hook alwaies *touching* the ground.—Walton, *The Compleat Angler* [Jespersen].

(3) It's a gloomy thing...to talk about one's own past, *with* the day *breaking*.—Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* II. v.

(4) A man all in a heap in the bows of the boat, slept *with* both arms *embracing* the stem-head and his cheek laid on the gunwale.—Conrad, *Youth*.

(5) It was a soft grey outside, *with* heavy clouds *working* across the sky, and occasional squalls of snow.—Cather, *My Antonia* xii.

This expression with a noun or pronoun as its nucleus accompanied by a complementary participle is so well suited to the vivid, concrete style of PE that the examples would be too numerous to be here mentioned. In example (4) a phrase containing a present participle is co-ordinated with a parallel one containing a past participle. Example (5) is especially noteworthy in that as object of the preposition *with* the combination of noun and participle "(heavy) clouds *working*..." runs parallel with a nominal expression followed by a prepositional adjunct "(occasional) squalls of snow." Here we can see the nature of the participle as predicative adjunct revealed externally.

§ 26. Before inquiring into the instances introduced by other prepositions, we shall observe those where *look at* and *listen to* introduce their objects followed by participles. This is apparently a new construction developed on the analogy of the older expression "*see or hear*+object+participle."

(1) The general *looked* stolidly *at* a distant regiment *swarming* slowly up the hill through rough undergrowth.—Bierce, *In the Midst of Life*, "The Affair at Coulter's Notch."

(2) It is nice to...*listen to* the school bell *sounding* dinner, call-over, prep., and lights out.—Hilton, *Good-Bye, Mr. Chips* i.

In these examples the adjective nature of the participles seems more apparent, for *look at* or *listen to* expresses more distinctly a physical action that requires some concrete person or thing as its object, so that the attendant participle can be interpreted as more adjunctive or complementary than in the construction introduced by *see* or *hear*. In the following example we can perceive still more clearly the adjective nature of the participles that conduces to form a concrete, descriptive style.

(3) He got up painfully, *looked* at the flames, *at* the sea *sparkling* round the ship, and black, as ink farther away; he *looked at* the stars *shining* dim through a thin veil of smoke in a sky black, black as Erebus.—Conrad, *Youth*.³⁸

³⁸ The corresponding infinitive-construction after *look at* or *listen to* is found mainly in modern American English.

Look at that horse *jump*.—[Zandvoort].

I've got a religion of my own, and if it's good enough for me, *listening to* a Universalist preacher *preach* would only make me dissatisfied with what I've got.—Caldwell, *Georgia Boy*, "The Day We Rang the Bell."

This is stylistically more compact but less descriptive than the participle-construction that we have described here.

§ 27. Similar modern phenomena are seen when *the sight of*, *the sound of* and other synonymous expressions precede the combinations "object and participle." They participate in the formation of the same concrete and cumulative style as verbs of perception, *see*, *hear*, etc., are liable to form with the corresponding construction.

(1) He dreaded *the sight of* Mrs. Baines *waiting* in the hall.—Greene, *The Basement Room* v.

(2) All I know is that at the end of three weeks I *caught sight of* Smith's lunatic *digging* in Swaffer's kitchen garden.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(3) We become optimists *at sight of* the first crocus in the garden *pushing* its way into the light.—Lynd, "It's a Fine World."

(4) He felt *the glance of* the policeman *running* over him like a chilly insect.—Galsworthy, *Caravan*, "Virtue."

(5) Here she was, making him positively look forward to *the glimpse of* her safety bicycle *careering* along the lakeside road.—Hilton, *Good-Bye, Mr. Chips* iv.

(6) *The spectacle of* a bevy of girls *dancing* without male partners seemed to amuse the third (*i. e.* of the brothers).—Hardy, *Tess* ii.

(7) All of a sudden, I was startled by *the sound of* the full organ *pealing* on the ear, accompanied by rustic voices and the willing quire of village-maids and children.—Hazlitt, *Table Talk*, "Why Distant Objects Please."

(8) *Sounds* are heard of a cell door *being* closed and locked, and approaching footsteps.—Galsworthy, *Justice* III. ii.

(9) Then I sat up right into the night, thinking that every movement of the wind outside or of the drip of water was *the little pad of* his step *coming* up the flagstones to the door.—Belloc, *On Nothing*, "On a Dog and a Man Also."

(10) As I entered the kitchen, I sniffed *a pleasant smell of* gingerbread *baking*.—Cather, *My Ántonia* I. ii.

Examples (1) to (6) contain nouns of visual sense and examples (7) to (9) nouns of auditory sense. In example (10) the noun denotes olfactory sense, another kind of sensuous perception. In such contexts these nouns first require the addition of the expression for some concrete persons or things to which they refer, and then presuppose that it may be followed by some further complementary expression of action or state concerning the concrete objects. In the process of expression, therefore, "*sight* or *sound* + *of* + object + *~ing*" may be regarded as just analogous to "*see* or *hear* + object + *~ing*." It is true that the participles in the examples above are adjuncts rather than predicatives in their syntactic relation to the preceding nouns. But generally speaking, the predicative nature is inherent in the adjunct when expressed after the head-word. This intrinsic nature as *predicative adjunct* should be equally observed in the participle of the well-established pattern "I saw (or heard) him *coming*," described in §§ 7, 14, 20.

In this respect it would be instructive to notice that there appears in example (8) above an instance of a preposed participle "*approaching* footsteps." Stylisti-

cally *approaching* here has brought about a compact, though less dynamic, effect, while “footsteps *approaching*” would become more suggestive of a progressive sensuous impression, the participle turning looser and more predicative.

§ 28. We shall next enumerate some other examples that contain similar expressions where a noun or an adjective denotes some phase of mentality.

(1) And he always would come to an end, with many emphatic shakes of his head, upon that awful *sensation* of his heart *melting* within him directly he set foot on board that ship.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(2) In uttering those words, he was *conscious* of a girl *coming* down from the common just above them.³⁹—Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* i.

(3) He...died, the old dilettante, sixty years later with nothing to show rather than preserve *the memory* of Mrs. Baines's malicious voice *saying* good night, her soft determined footfalls on the stairs to the basement, *going* down, *going* down.—Greene, *The Basement Room* ii.

The last is an instance of impressionistic style where the writer goes on noting down the impressions along with the stream of consciousness in the character described. The present participles, especially the latter reiterated ones, are effective as important constituents of such style, with their durative or liquid aspect. Again, the expression “the memory of...*saying*” should be compared with the expression “remember...*saying*” as in example (5) under § 24.

§ 29. In PE there are other instances belonging to the type “noun+of +noun+~ing,” where the *-ing* form should also be interpreted as a participle. Here the first noun does not express any kind of perception, but is the one which makes us anticipate the addition of some concrete description by means of the following *of*-phrase. The complementary participle, with its descriptive force, performs the function of making an expiatory predication about the second noun. To perceive the same stylistic characteristic as has hitherto been described, we should only have to observe the actual quotations.

(1) I told my poor great master Haydon...that he ought to send in *a cartoon* of King John *dying* of a surfeit of lampreys for the frescoes in the new Houses of Parliament.—A. Huxley, *Rotunda*, “The Tillotson Banquet” iii.

(2) But if you can actually take *a snapshot* of the squire *kicking* the poacher, you can prove the practical *occurrence* of a banker *bashing* a beggar on the head—then you explode the whole generous fiction on which the popularity of a gentry reposes.—Chesterton, *As I Was Saying*, “About Political Creeds.”

(3) ...the domestic scene I beheld in the most Moslem part of Palestine, *the episode* of a Moslem woman *shouting* and *yelling* abuse of her husband across the breadth of a small lake, while the husband stood helpless and evidently

³⁹ The following example of the same type is noteworthy, because the participle is more loosely connected with the preceding pronoun, so as better to manifest the concreteness of the cumulative style.

While Martin stood at his bench he was *conscious* of her, *humming* at a table in the corner.
—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith* XXI. iv.

unable to think of any repartee.—*Ibid.*, "About Loving Germans."

It must be noticed that in example (1) "a cartoon of King John *dying*" is not exactly equivalent to "a cartoon of King John *who was dying*." To *King John* the attachment of *dying* is more direct or intuitive than that of the relative clause. *Dying*, though expressed as an adjunct, is suggestive of some potential nature as predicative. In example (3) "a Moslem woman *shouting* and *yelling*..." is in a parallel manner followed by the clausal construction "the husband *stood*..."

§ 30. When a word-group as object of a preposition expresses some abstract content of a fact or information, we are liable to have recourse to a gerund as sense-predicate of the group (cf. §§ 46,47,54). In reality, however, it is sometimes difficult for the writer, in his linguistic sense, to decide whether he is going to express some idea as an abstract synthetic content or resort to a concrete, analytic style of expression. Accordingly there are occasional manifestations of his psychological fluctuation as to the use of the *-ing* form. In the modern Globe Edition, we see:

- (1) *Clown* Good madonna, why mournest thou?
Olivia Good fool, for my brother's death.
Clo. I think his soul is in hell, madonna.
Oli. I know his soul is in heaven, fool.
Clo. The more fool, madonna, to *mourn for* your brother's soul *being* in heaven.

—Shakespeare, *Twel. N.* I. v. 72—77

In the last sentence above the object of *mourn for* may be interpreted as the whole synthetic group "your brother's soul *being* in heaven," of which *being* is a gerund. But there is an interesting proof. In the Folio edition the same sentence runs as follows: "The more foole (Madonna) to mourne for your brothers soule, being in heauen," with a comma before *being*. Indeed, if we turn to the whole context above quoted, we shall see that it would not only be suited to this simple remark but also, in a better way, enlighten its meaning to understand *your brother's soul* as the primary object of *mourn for*, and *being in heaven* as a supplementary adjunct that has a peculiar prominence of its own. According to this interpretation *being in heaven* will mean "now that it is in heaven" or "even if it is in heaven", and so invest this statement of Clown's with a new sense of lively humour.

In this way the presence of a pause between the noun or pronoun and the *-ing* form often makes it clear that the form has been used as a participle in this kind of construction.

- (2) *Think*, for example, of the woman she admired most, Lady Bexborough, *opening* the bazaar.—Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*.

- (3) Every now and then he still *heard* of her, *living* down there, *spending* her days out in the woods and fields,...and steadily *growing* poorer and thinner and more eccentric; *becoming*, in short, impossibly difficult, as only English women can.—Galsworthy, *Caravan*, "Sprindleberries."

We shall later (in § 54) deal with the gerund-construction introduced by *think of* or *hear of*; but in the examples above it is out of question that each *-ing* form is a participle. In the characteristically cumulative style revealed in example (2), the loose participle after the pause evidently plays an essential part. In example (3) the feature of the style is more striking. The succession of the participial phrases has displayed a climactic descriptive force.

§ 31. The expression "*think of* + object + participle," as exemplified by (2) under the previous section, is a fairly common type of emotional, and chiefly interrogative, sentence whose tone is decidedly colloquial. In meaning and use it is approximately correspondent to the expression "*fancy* or *imagine* + object + participle," which we have dealt with in § 24. For an example of the type, let us now take "*Think of* my brother *doing it*." In this sentence, what the speaker intends to convey as object of "*think of*" is not the abstract fact that his brother does it, but primarily the concrete agent "*my brother*," to which he goes on to add a secondary expression of the agent's action by means of the participial phrase "*doing it*." We shall cite two more instances.

(1) *Think of* me ever being rich!—Pycroft, *Agony Point* ((1861)) [OED].

(2) *Think of* years to come, and children *being* born to us, and this past matter *getting* known—for it must get known.—Hardy, *Tess* xxxvi.

In example (1) the use of the accusative *me* externally demonstrates that *being* is a present participle. In example (2) we may perceive synthetic entireties in "*children being* born to us" and "*this past matter getting* known." Yet it must be observed that the two groups are preceded by "*years to come*," the more immediate object of *think of*. In these parallel groups we should be allowed to interpret *to come*, *being* and *getting* as adjuncts to "*years*," "*children*" and "*this past matter*" respectively. It is not that "*children being...*" and "*this past matter getting...*" can be paraphrased into "*children who will be...*" and "*this matter that will get....*" The original stylistic value, both concrete and descriptive, can only be well displayed by the use of the simple participles.

The expression is not, however, confined to this type of emotional utterance. We can add the examples of general statements.

(3) Suddenly even the upper part of the house became unbearable to him as he *thought of* Mrs. Baines *moving* round shrouding the sofas, laying out the dust-sheets.—Greene, *The Basement Room* i.

(4) I *thought of* her with her white body, her chin so milky, in the arms of that old fat gross man and his thick loose lips *kissing* hers.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xvii.

Example (4) is of special interest. It illustrates the adaptability of the participle in the loose and cumulative style.

Associated with "*think of* + object + participle" should be considered "*the thought of* + object + participle." Here again we must observe the same characteristic of the style.

(5) Do not send any more of my books home. I have a great pleasure

in *the thought of you looking* on them.—Keats, "The Complete Works" [Curme; Jespersen].

(6) Once he slowed down to a walk, but *the thought of the freezing extending* itself made him run again.—London, *To Build a Fire*.

As to example (5), it is indeed absurd to interpret "you" alone as object of "(the thought) of." But it will help us to appreciate the descriptive force of this expression if we regard *looking* as a participle. The participle is better suited than the gerund for the vivid description in the poet's mind that his friend is looking on the books, perhaps fondly taking them in his hands. In example (6), again, what is meant by the writer as subject of "made him run again" is not surely the thought of the abstract fact that the freezing extends itself, the sense which would be expected if *extending* here were to be understood as a gerund. As it is, the description is more concrete, with "the feeling," as primary object of "(the thought) of," considerably intensified and the participle *extending* supplemented as a predicative adjunct.

§ 32. In this chapter we have hitherto traced forward the general process of how the "accusative and participle" construction has been developed since the OE period. It is really surprising to see the tremendous expansion of the construction in the ModE period, especially after the beginning of the nineteenth century. The primary origin in OE was a limited range of usage where only some verbs of perception introduced this construction (cf. § 7). As an OE instance of the construction introduced by a preposition, we have observed a variety of "dative absolute" construction, *be him lifgendum* (cf. §§ 10–11), which, however, has not survived till the later period. Nevertheless, the stylistic feature of the idiom was in common with that of the main construction that has been preserved and expanded. Indeed the matter is often complicated by the confusion, both morphologic and syntactic, between the participle and the gerund; but it is the stylistic feature—concrete, cumulative and descriptive—as well as the syntactic function that has enabled us to trace the obscure way of the participle-construction. In the next chapter, we are going to proceed on the other parallel way of the gerund-construction, which we hope will serve, if subsidiarily, to elucidate the participle-construction in more detail.

CHAPTER III

The Development of the "Genitive and Gerund" Construction

1. The Morphological Origin of the Gerund

§ 33. Before dealing with the construction in question, it will be proper for us to survey the general process of how the *-ing* form as gerund has been de-

veloped in the English language. In OE the endings *-ung* and, less usually, *-ing* were suffixes chiefly used to derive abstract nouns from verbs. Both the endings were mostly attached to weak verbs to form abstract nouns: e.g. *bletsung* (=blessing), *geendung* (=ending, end), *raeding* (=reading) (respectively from the verbs *bletsan*, *geendian*, *raedan*). The derivatives from strong verbs were rare, but they generally preferred the ending *-ung*.

At the end of the tenth century the formations in *-ung* were prevalent, but then set in the tendency of *-ung* being displaced by *-ing*. The causes for this transition may be considered in the three respects. (1) The first is phonological. In the point of articulation the palatal consonant-combination *-ng* is in more affinity to the high front vowel *-i-* than to the rounded back vowel *-u-*, which in its less stressed position was ready to be modified in the direction of *-i-* (cf. § 13).⁴⁰ It is assumed, besides, that according to the vowel-shift that took place in the late OE period, the dative plural ending *-ungum* changed into *-engum* and *-ingum*. The last influenced the other case-forms, till they all came to be levelled into *-ing*.⁴¹

(2) The second cause is functional. In OE the suffixes *-ing* and *-ung* were used to form concrete nouns from both verbs and nouns, as well as to form abstract nouns here considered. In such comprehensive use *-ung* come to appear less adaptable than *-ing*. The nouns ending in *-ing* were either feminine or masculine, or sometimes neuter, while those ending in *-ung* were almost invariably of the feminine gender. In other words, *-ing* was more multivocal than *-ung* in its original nature. This greater elasticity of *-ing* was in favour of the further advance of the same ending, so that it became established as the common form of the gerund as well.⁴²

(3) Lastly the Scandinavian influence is to be taken into account. In Old Norse the corresponding suffix was almost unexceptionally **-ingo*. Brought into English at the end of the OE period, it furthered the generalization of the form *-ing* as a comprehensive suffix for both a substantival derivative and a verbal one, abstract and concrete.⁴³

§ 34. For the causes above remarked, the use of *-ung* had gradually declined, till at the beginning of the thirteenth century the old trace of the form was only barely retained in those dialects which correspond to West Saxon in OE. For example, in *Ancren Riwele* the ratio between *-ing* and *-ung* was already four to one. There we find the indication of hesitation in the occasional indifferent use of the two forms: *beginninge*, *bireousinge* (=repenting), *gederinge* (=gathering), *lokinge*, *niminge* (=taking), *redinge*, *scheauwinge* (=showing) and *totinge* (=peeping) were seen by the side of the corresponding forms that end in *-unge*.⁴⁴ Finally,

⁴⁰ Langenhove, *The Origin of the Gerund* § 1.2.3. By the way, the same section of the work describes the transition in more comprehensive details mainly from the phonological point of view.

⁴¹ Brunner, *Die englische Sprache* II. p. 320.

⁴² Mossé, *F. P.* II. § 144.

⁴³ Brunner, *Op. cit.* II. p. 320; Mossé, *Op. cit.* II. § 144; Langenhove, *Op. cit.* § 1.2.3(g).

⁴⁴ Mossé, *Op. cit.* II. § 145.

about 1250, *-ing* entirely disappeared, with the universal establishment of *-ing* as the ending of the verbal substantive or gerund.

It must here be remembered that the predominance of the gerundial form *-ing* has a great significance, in view of the identical form *-ing* as the present participle which had displaced *-end* in the ME period (cf. §§ 14, 15). The morphological convergency of the two categories was surely an advantageous condition under which the gerundial syntax was to attain a surprising development in the later period.

2. The Syntactic Development of the Gerund

§ 35. As remarked in the previous section, the gerund⁴⁵ or verbal substantive was originally an abstract noun. It is true that it was derived from a verb and so semantically had a verbal sense, but it primarily belonged to the syntactic category of nouns, just as did OE words in *-nes* (= *-ness*), e.g. *rihtwisnes* (=righteousness), *gerecednes* (=narrative), etc. The substantival nature of the gerund is evident when we compare the corresponding form *-ung* in German. There the forms ending in *-ung* have remained unquestionably nouns: e.g. *Belehrung* (=teaching), *Führung* (=leading), *Lesung* (=reading), *Schaffung* (=creation), respectively derived from the verbs *belehren*, *führen*, *lesen*, *schaffen* (=create).

In OE, the verbal substantive in *-ung* or *-ing*, as a genuine noun, was naturally accompanied by some restrictive noun or pronoun in the genitive case, when it was required to express the idea of subject or object for the sense of the verb from which the substantive had been derived.

(1) Elisabeth gehyrde *Marian gretinge*.—*Luke i. 41* [Koch]. (Elisabeth heard Mary's greeting.)

(2) Hit is fiscwylle and fugolwylle, and mære on *huntunge heorta* and *rana*.—*Bede I. i.* (It, i.e. Ireland, is rich in fish and fowl, and famous for hunting harts and roes.)

Marian in example (1) is the genitive of *Maria* (=Mary), and *heorta* and *rana* in example (2) are the genitive plurals of *heort* (=hart) and *ra* (=roe). In the former the semantic relation of the genitive to the gerund is that of subject, while in the latter the two genitives are in the relation of objects to the verbal sense of *huntunge* (=hunting). In respect of the substantival construction, it is instructive to notice that as the German translation of the passage cited as example (2), Brunner (*Die englische Sprache* II. p. 320) gives: "Es ist ...berühmt durch die Jagd (=the hunt) auf Hirsche und Renntiere." In the German expression, the original English gerund has been rendered into the genuine noun.

⁴⁵ Our use of the term "gerund" should be strictly distinguished from what is commonly adopted by philologists of early English, who take the "gerund" as identical with the inflected infinitive that originally ended in *-enne*, *-anne*. Indeed there are instances in OE and ME where *-enne* was confused with *-end(e)*, *-ing(e)*, and still in ModE the *-ing* form sometimes performs the function of a dative infinitive (e.g. "He went hunting"). But we should like to regard these as merely temporary or subsidiary phenomena.

§ 36. In that early period the word-order was much freer than today. When a genitive noun was in the objective relation to a gerund, the former was often placed before the latter so as to form a closely attributive construction.

(1) Swipost he for ðider, to-eacan *þæs landes seeawunge*, for þæm hors-hwælum.—Alfred's *Orosius* [Mossé]. (Especially he went there, besides seeing the land, to get the walrus.)

In the same period there was another way of expression, where the preposed noun has no formal sign of the oblique case and is combined with the gerund so as to form one compound. Here we may say that the closeness of the combination as observed in example (1) has been heightened to the utmost extent.

(2) Siððan ongann *godspelbodung*.—Ælfric, *Homilies* [A.-S. D.]. (Then began gospel-preaching, i.e. the Christian dispensation.)

This is the most primitive way of expressing the complex idea. In the compound *godspelbodung*, *bodung* (=preaching) reveals its static substantival character. Though this kind of expression continued till late ME and its correspondent is found in ModE,⁴⁶ its tradition must be regarded as distinct from that of the gerundial syntax in general. We can say that the English gerund began to go on its way of syntactic progress when it had left the stage of substantival stability, proceeding towards that of verbal flexibility.

Let us now see the process by means of the representative types. The first type is *boc(-)ræding* (=book-reading), and the second *ræding boc* (=reading a book). The former represents the synthetic stage where the element of object *boc* is expressed as the first component of the fixed compound, while the latter represents the analytic stage where the object is freely expressed as a syntactically independent unit after the governing verbal *ræding*. The transition from the old synthetic stage to the new analytic stage is dated at the end of the twelfth century.⁴⁷

§ 37. We are now in a position to inquire into the old stage of *boc(-)ræding* in more detail. The following is the quotation from early ME.

(1) Man þær ne ge spædde butan *man myrringe* and *feoh spillinge*.—*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E) 1096 ((1121—2)). (There was spread nothing but the injury of men and the loss of money.)

Here it would seem that *man* and *feoh* in *man myrringe* and *feoh spillinge* were merely the first components of the compounds, which happened to appear in two separate words in consequence of the scribal habit. It is also conceivable, however, that there had dawned the potentiality of the first elements, sooner or later, being felt to be accusative objects, as syntactic units, of the second.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ In ModE there is a somewhat free kind of compound-nouns belonging to the same type. As to their origin, however, none can be traced back to the OE usage here remarked. In the following instances the dates given after the respective words denote those of their earliest uses according to OED: *bell-ringing* (c. 1315), *child-bearing* (1388), *bear-baiting* (c. 1475), *house-keeping* (1550), *haymaking* (1588), *fox-hunting* (1674), *glass-blowing* (c. 1829), etc.

⁴⁷ Mossé, *F. P.* II. § 172.

⁴⁸ Curme, "History of the English Gerund." *Englische Studien* XLV.

About the same time we find another type *boces ræding*, which is composed of an objective genitive and a gerund. This has already been exemplified by example (1) under § 35. The following is noticeable, for it is quoted from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, just as example (1) above.

(2) Ne be heold hit nan þing seo scip fyrðing buton folces ge swinc and feos spilling and heora feonda forðbylding.—*Ibid.* 999. (The naval expedition saw nothing but the people's toil, wasting money and emboldening their enemy.)

It is true that *scip fyrðing* should be interpreted as a close compound, where *scip* (=ship) is rather attributively attached to *fyrðing* (=expedition), so that the definite article *seo* agrees in the feminine case with the whole compound *scip-fyrðing*. But *feos spilling* and *heora feonda forðbylding* are evidently free combinations that consist of the objective genitives and the verbal substantives. Now that we compare this with example (1), we can see the remarkable parallelism of the two types: *feoh spillinge* and *feos spilling*. Of these the former enjoyed a longer life, though finally, we might say, they both come to be supplanted by the newer one.

Now, at that transitional period the morphological distinction was generally becoming obliterated, and at the end of the twelfth century the noun or nominal group preceding the gerund appeared in the accusative case. The following may be cited as one of the earliest examples of the type "accusative object and gerund."

(3) Ich bide þe...bi his side openunge, bi his blodi Rune þet ron inne monie studen...erest in his one hond and seoððen in his oðer, olast in his side *ƿurlunge*.—*Lofsong of ure Lefði* ((c. 1200)) [Van der Gaaf; Mossé]. (I pray you...by opening his side, by the issue of his blood that ran in many places ...in piercing first his one hand and then his other, at last his side.)

Here the gerunds *openunge* (=opening) and *ƿurlunge* (=piercing) have displayed, to a certain extent, the syntactic force as verbs, though the prepositions *bi* (=by) and *in* would be more naturally understood as governing the whole following groups than as governing the gerunds alone. Especially we should observe the free use of *his one hond* (=hand), *his oðer* (=other), and *his side* as object of *ƿurlunge*, as contrasted with the fixed nature of the component or genitive object as seen in examples (1) and (2).

Though the last type, in turn, began to be superseded by the newer one of *ræding boc* about the same period,⁴⁹ the general character of the construction was still in the substantival stage. We see that in example (2) above the two "genitive and gerund" phrases *feos spilling* and *heora feonda forðbylding* are co-ordinated by the "genitive and noun" *folces ge-swinc* (=people's toil). Though the functional relation denoted by the genitive in the latter is subjective, as opposed to

⁴⁹ The old type, however, kept remaining through the ME period. The following example, illustrating a modern remnant as late as the sixteenth century, is noteworthy in containing another synonymous construction with an *of*-phrase, which will be remarked in § 38.

Ther was brybes (=bribes) walking, *money makynge*, *makynge of handes* (=hands).—Latimer, *Seven Sermons before Edward VI* ((1549)) [Mossé].

the objective relation in the former, yet the exact parallelism shows that the *-ing* forms were felt as syntactically genuine nouns. In example (3), again, the "accusative and gerund" phrase (*bi*) *his side openunge* is followed almost appositionally by the group with a noun as its head-word; but the adjective *blodi* here is in the subjective relation to the verbal idea expressed by the noun *rune*, just as in *his side openunge* the noun *side* is in the objective relation to the verbal idea of *openunge*. The gerund *openunge* remarkably corresponds to the noun *rune* in the syntactic status.

§ 38. The substantival nature of the gerund in its early stage can be observed in another construction. Besides that the old objective genitive was supplanted by the accusative object in consequence of the inflectional decay, the function of the genitive was sometimes handed down to a periphrastic expression with the preposition *of*. This analytic way of expression also made its appearance at the beginning of the thirteenth century and became considerably usual in ME, but presently it was predominated by the more verbal construction with the simple object following the gerund. The following example is of particular interest, since it manifests a transitional phenomenon where we have both an *of*-phrase and an accusative pronoun as objects of the successive gerunds.

- (1) Afterward, in *getinge of your richesses* and in *usinge hem* (=them), ye shul (=shall) alwey have three thinges in your herte (=heart).—Chaucer, *C. T.*, "The Tale of Melibeus" § 52.

It was in the fourteenth century that the verbal force of the gerund was conspicuously developed. This was illustrated by the new use of adverbs as modifiers of gerunds, as well as the use of objects after them. We shall here cite from Mossé (*F. P.* II. § 174) the interesting remark that Dan Michel of Northgate, whose *Azenbite of Inwyrt* was completed in 1340, was just in the transitional stage in the use of adverbs with gerunds⁶⁰ and that we find there *ate uerste guoinge in* (= at first going in) and *uallyng down* (=falling down) by the side of *inguoyng* (= *inging*), and *at his down commyng* (at his down coming) as well as *his first commyng down*. As to his remarkably frequent use of gerunds, we may assume that it was in many cases due to the use of the *gerondifs* in *-ant*⁶¹ that had appeared in the Old French originals. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Dan Michel made a considerable contribution to the syntactic development of the English gerund.

Another contributor in the fourteenth century is Wyclif. In his version of the Bible published in 1382, according to OED (s. v. *-ING*¹ 2), he regularly uses the gerund with verbal force in translating the Latin *gerundium*, while

⁶⁰ The use of an adverb with a gerund, however, did not start at that time in the fourteenth century, as is often alleged, but much earlier—indeed, in the twelfth century (cf. Mossé, *Op. cit.* § 174).

⁶¹ The Old French form in *-ant*, in turn, was due to the convergency of the Vulgar Latin present participle in *-antem* and "gerundium" in *-ando*. In Vulgar Latin the ablative "gerundium" in *-ando* performed the same function as the present participle. This functional confusion was kept on in Old French, and, what is worse, facilitated by the morphological identity. The source of the modern indistinctness is very far to seek.

he retains the original substantival construction where an abstract noun has been used in the Latin text. Thus we find "the thridde moneth of the *goyng* of Yrael out (*egressionis*) of the loond of Egipte" (*Exod.* xix. 1) (the third month when Israel went out of the land of Egypt); but "power of *heelynge* (*curandi*) sicknessis, and of *castynge* out (*ejiciendi*) fendis" (*Mark* iii. 15) (power of healing sicknesses, and of casting out fiends). In the former *goyng*, together with *out*, corresponds to the Latin noun *egressionis*, genitive of *egressio*. It is therefore used like a noun, preceded by the definite article and followed by the *of*-phrase that is in the relation of subject to its verbal sense. In the latter, on the other hand, (*of*) *heelynge* and (*of*) *castynge out*, which correspond to the Latin genitive gerundiums *curandi* and *ejiciendi*, immediately precede their objects just as genuine verbs do.

From these instances we may judge that the Latin influence, as well as the Old French, was a factor in helping the English gerund to be developed in verbal constructions. The new gerundial construction was also favoured by some other writers such as Maundeville and Chaucer. It is upon the current of this development in the fourteenth century that we see the "subject and gerund" construction starting to make a steady advance.

3. *to-janes þo sunne risindde*

§ 39. As has been observed above, the transposition of the object after the gerund represents a marked step in the verbalization of the gerund whose nature is originally substantival. The gerund has now developed as much verbal capability as an ordinary transitive verb in freely preceding its object according to the common word-order in English syntax. At the same time it may be concluded that the older order "(pro)noun+gerund" has become reserved for another important purpose, that is, to express the relation of the subject to the gerund. Morphologically, too, a correspondent phenomenon has taken place. As the means of expressing the objective relation to the gerund the genitive case began to be supplanted by the accusative at the end of the twelfth century. In the same way, the old genitive that had denoted the relation of subject to the verbal idea of the gerund came to be replaced by the new accusative about two centuries later. This has undoubtedly enhanced the flexibility of the gerundial expression, marking a further step in its development.

Now we must remark a special phenomenon that had appeared much earlier than the general transition to the new "subject and gerund" construction. The following might be recognized as the earliest example where the gerund is preceded by a subjective common case, instead of a genitive case.

(1) Si sterre...apierede te þo þrie kinges of heþenese *to-janes þo sunne risindde*.—Kentish Sermons ((a. 1250)) [Morris & Skeat]. (The star... appeared to the three kings of heathendom towards the sun rising.)

In interpreting the phrase *to-janes þo sunne risindde* in this quotation written in the Kentish dialect in the thirteenth century, there are two points to be con-

sidered. The first is the question whether *risindde* may not be a present participle, instead of a gerund. It is true that the form ending in *-inde* is that of a present participle as distinguished from a gerund which ends in *-inge*, and that in Kentish the distinction between the two categories was well preserved in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But the morphological confusion of the two forms was a fairly common phenomenon in those times. The participial form was sometimes meant for a gerund, and *vice versa*. From this fact it can be judged that *risindde* in the example above is used as a gerund in spite of its form.⁵²

Secondly there is a question of how to interpret this compact expression *to-janes þo sunne risindde*. We can see that the context allows it to be interpreted in the two different ways. (1) If the preposition *to-janes*, whose original sense is "against," is here understood to imply a temporal relation, meaning "against the time of, near," the whole phrase will come to mean "near or at the time when the sun rose, *i. e.* near or at sunrise." (2) If, on the other hand, we take *to-janes* here as denoting the relation of local direction with the sense of "towards", then the whole phrase will be interpreted as meaning "towards the point where the sun rises, *i. e.* towards the east." The second interpretation has been adopted by, among others, Morris⁵³ and Eienkel,⁵⁴ but we should like to resort to the first one with OED and others, on the grounds that will be described in the following section.

§ 40. If we admit that *to-janes þo sunne risindde* implies the idea of direction and means "towards the east," *risindde* may as well be regarded as a present participle which is adjunctively subjoined to *þo sunne*. Then the whole expression will appear to form a concrete style, very characteristic of the early syntax. Even so, the combination has too much connotation for us to justify this construing. The fact is that *risindde* is a gerund as has been verified in the previous section, and moreover there is an important piece of corroboration. The *Kentish Sermons* are English translations from the French originals. According to OED (s.v. SUN-RISE), the French corresponding to the part "*to-janes þo sunne risindde*" is "*vers le solail (=soleil) levant*." It is inferred, therefore, that the French *gérondif levant* was the prototype of the English *risindde*. Though the French *gérondif* itself had already been indistinguishable from the present participle from the morphological point of view, we should now be reminded that modern French has fairly established idioms of a similar construction, *au soleil levant* and *au soleil couchant*. These correspond in English to "at sunrise" and "at sunset" respectively; and it would be difficult for us to perceive in these French phrases the dynamic expressiveness that can be displayed by the absolute participial phrase. In the same way, *vers le solail levant* and its translation *to-janes þo sunne risindde* are such fixedly constructed expressions that we may even feel *solail levant* and *sunne risindde* as compounds. We may say that the elements here

⁵² Mossé, F. P. II. § 154; Bôgholm, *English Speech from an Historical Point of View* p. 217.

⁵³ *Specimens of Early English* I. p. 332.

⁵⁴ *Historische Syntax*, Nachtrage (§ 3 κ).

are so closely combined to each other that the groups have come to imply the fused meaning of a temporal noun "sunrise" (G "Sonnenaufgang").

It seems to be significant from the standpoint of syntactic history that the earliest type of the "subject and gerund" construction, even if it was the imitation of the Old French expression, was in the nature of a compound. The stage of compounds represents that of close and static structure, which later proceeds to the stage of open and dynamic structure. In §§ 36, 37 we have described how the primitive type of compound *boc(-)ræding* has grown into the free syntactic type *ræding boc* in respect of the development of the "gerund and object" construction. Now, as to the "subject and gerund" construction, we see a parallel tendency. The compound-like *(the) sun rising* represents the primitive type of the construction. It makes us anticipate the later development of freer and more general types, where any kind of noun or pronoun can be used before a gerund as sense-subject of the latter.

§41. The type "the sun rising," "the sun going down," or suchlike, especially preceded by a preposition, began to be found more than half a century later than the instance in the *Kentish Sermons* dealt with in the previous sections. The type of expression was pretty common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In every instance it had the function of temporal determination, and there should be observed the static substantival nature which is alien to the participle-construction. The following are some of the examples.⁶⁵

(1) Mury hit is *in sonne rising*.—*King Alisaunder* ((c. 1300)). (It is merry about sunrise.)

(2) At morn *yn the sonne rysyng* Brutus led Pandras...Until his castel.—Robert of Brunne, *Chronicle* ((1338)). (At sunrise in the morning Brutus led Pandras...to his castle.)

(3) And þat sal last *fra þe son rysyng* Till þe tyme of *þe son doungangyng*.—Rolle of Hampole, *The Pricke of Conscience* ((c. 1340)). (And that shall last from sunrise till sunset.)

(4) He wolde rest in it *after the sunne goyng down*.—Wyclif, *Gen.* xxvii. 11 ((c. 1382)). (He would rest in it after sunset.)

It is now interesting to see that this type of "common case and gerund" was liable to be superseded by the more usual one that contains a genitive noun or its equivalent *of*-phrase. Example (1), for instance, appears in the other text (Laud MS.) as: "Mury hit is in *sonnes risyng*." By the side of "*fra þe son rysyng*," as in example (3), Richard Rolle uses in another place (*The Psalter* ((a. 1340))), "*fra the rysyng of the sun*." Again "after the *sunne goyng down*" in the biblical passage quoted in example (4) has been altered in Purvey's revision ((a. 1388)) into "after the goyng down of the *sunne*." This may indicate that the type "(the) sun rising" was not altogether felt as a close compound but was likely to be

⁶⁵ The examples mentioned in this section have been quoted chiefly from Van der Gaaf, "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case" §§27-29; Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* § 148; and Brunner, *Die englische Sprache* II, p. 324.

understood as a free combination as if "the sun" were equivalent to the subjective genitive "the sun's" or the genitive-phrase "of the sun". But the fact is that the type has failed to be established as a permanent one⁶⁶; it is rather a special or limited expression which implies the abstract idea in its concrete outer form. *þe sunne rysynge* does not mean "that the sun rises (rose) or is (was) rising" but "the time when the sun rises (rose)." Such a condensed and connotative expression was too special to be felt as a typical construction of "subject and gerund." There is good reason for OED (s. v. SUN n. 13) to have recorded this kind of "special compounds," *sun-arising*, *sun-going-down* and *sun-sitting*, all marked *obsolete* and first exemplified from c. 1440. The dictionary also treats *sunrising* and *sun-setting* under independent headings, and marking them both as "now rare or archaic," notes that they have been superseded by *sunrise* and *sunset* respectively. As to their origin, it explains that they have been formed "partly after F *soleil levant*" and "F *soleil couchant*." In conclusion, we may say that the type "sun rising" appeared chiefly from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century on the analogy of F *soleil levant*, that it assumed the nature of a fixed compound where the first component *sun* was juxtaposed with the gerund *rising*, as it were, in the caseless status, and that it was destined to be displaced by the new noun *sunrise*. In view of the general trend of the gerund-construction, it was surely a transitory phenomenon; and yet it is significant in representing the earliest stage in the development of the "genitive and gerund" construction.

4. "Subjective Genitive+Gerund" in ME

§ 42. In the ME period, apart from the special phenomenon "sun(-)rising," the usual way of expressing the subject of the gerund, or more strictly, what would be the subject of the corresponding verb, was to place the genitive case of a noun or pronoun before the gerund. This is nothing but a traditional way kept on since the OE period,⁶⁷ but it was only in the course of ME that the freedom and flexibility of the verbal construction was being gradually developed. Below some examples will be quoted from the works in ME.

(1) *Sannt Johaness fullhtninng* wass Halsumm and god to fanngenn.—*The Ormulum* ((c. 1200)) [OED]. (Saint John's baptizing was wholesome and and good to receive.)

(2) Of *þe kynges crownyng* in four and twentye gere....—Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle* ((c. 1298)) [Koch]. (Of the king's crowning in the twenty-fourth year....)

(3) Her pardoun is ful petit at her *partyng* hennes.—Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B) vii. 57 ((c.1377)). (Her pardon is very small at her parting

⁶⁶ In the following ME instance, *hockis crowynge* is of a similar type, composed of the genitive and the gerund. It also connotes a temporal idea, though it seems a still more isolated phenomenon than *þe sunne rysynge* (cf. OED, s.v. COCK-CROWING).

Whanne the lord of the hous cometh...in the mydnyzt, or *hockis crowynge*....—Wyclif, *Mark* xiii. 35. (When the lord of the house comes...at midnight, or cockcrowing....)

⁶⁷ For an OE instance, see example (1) under §35.

hence, *i. e.* death.)

(4) Who coude telle yow...Swich subtil loking and dissimulinges For drede of *jalouse mennes aperceyvinges*?—Chaucer, *C. T.*, "The Squieres Tale" 283-6 ((c. 1386)). (Who could tell you... such subtle looking and dissimulations for fear of jealous men's perceivings?)

(5) Thus Achillis achevit his awne choyse frendes, Thurgh *his prokuryng* prestly all the pure Troiens.—*The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* ((c. 1400)) [Kozioł]. (Thus Achilles gained his own choice friends through readily instigating all the simple Trojans.)

(6) At *his* againe *comyng* he semed blewe.—Malory, *Morte D'Arthure* ((1470-85)) [Visser]. (At his coming again he looked blue.)

These examples, except the last two, show that the gerunds still remain in the status of nouns and their combinations with the preceding genitives are structurally substantival rather than verbal, though in example (3) the gerund is accompanied by the adverb *hennes* (=hence). Especially in example (4) the *-ing* form appears in the plural *aperceyvinges* (=perceivings), which is placed so as to form an antithesis with *dissimulinges* (=dissimulations) in the preceding line. The substantival nature of the *-ing* forms is apparent both morphologically and semantically. In example (5), on the other hand, the prepositional phrase introduced by *thurgh* (=though) reveals fairly verbal features, though the genitive pronoun *his* would be superfluous here if the passage were to be expressed in PE. Example (6) has much of the modern pithy gerundial expression. It should be observed that the gerund *coming* is immediately determined by the adverb *again* (=again).

At any rate the supple and forceful gerund-construction that is commonly found today had not been fully developed till the beginning of the ModE period, while the original substantival nature had been, more or less, preserved all the time.

§ 43. In ME a genitive personal pronoun was in more general use than a genitive noun as sense-subject of a gerund. Such a pronoun is expressed rather subsidiarily with a gerund which conveys the primary idea in the context. In this respect this kind of construction may be contrasted with the participle-construction, where an accusative noun or pronoun is primarily expressed and a participle is added only complementally.

The prominent type with the genitive pronoun preceding the gerund is "*in+my* (*thy, his*, etc.)+gerund." It first appeared about the end of the thirteenth century, probably through the imitation of the Old French "*en+mon* (*ton, son*, etc.)+gérondif."⁵⁸

(1) Guo in-to helle *ine þine bibbende* þet þou ne guo *ine þine steruinge*.—Dan Michel, *Azenbite of Inwyt* ((1340)) [Mossé]. (Go into hell while you are alive that you may not go when you die.)

⁵⁸ Einenkel, *Historische Syntax* § 3. ζ.

(2) Me thought a nyght *in my sleping*, that....—Chaucer, *The Romaunt of the Rose* ((a. 1366)) [Einenkel]. (It seemed to me one night while sleeping that...)

The original French for example (1) is "Va en enfer *en ton vivant*, que tu n'i voies *en ton morant*." For the morphological confusion seen in *libbende* and *steruinge*, §§ 12, 13, 39 should be referred to. The French that corresponds to example (2) is "Ce m'iert avis *en mon dormant*..." Since the type "in my sleeping" began to be found in English about the same time as the type "in sleeping"⁵⁹, whose proto-type was, in turn, the Old French "en dormant," we can safely conjecture that both the types were felt parallel so that, in the writer's linguistic consciousness, the genitive pronoun in the former was merely secondary in the process of expression.

This type of expression also failed to be naturalized into the general usage of English syntax, for it hardly survived till after the ME period⁶⁰. After all it only serves to indicate that the Romanic influence should be subsidiarily taken into account in the present survey.

5. "Common or Accusative Case+Gerund" in ME

§ 44. When the sense-subject of the gerund was a noun, its form as genitive case was often obscured so that the noun came to appear in the form suitably called "common case." This phenomenon first became apparent about the end of the thirteenth century in works written in the Northern dialect, so far as this construction is concerned. It usually occurred after a preposition.

(1) *At þe appostell biding* sone þai went. —*The North-English Legendary* ((1275)) [Van der Gaaf; Poutsma]. (At the apostles' bidding they soon went.)

(2) Bot son quen he had seised þe land, þat in þan fel a hunger strang *thoru corn wanting* or *thoru were*....—*Cursor Mundi* ((c. 1300)) [Van der Gaaf; Curme]. (But soon when he had seized the land upon which a great famine had fallen through corn wanting or through war....)

(3) *For the queene comynge* he was fol glad.—Robert of Brunne, *Chronicle* ((1338)) [Van der Gaaf]. (For the queen's coming he was very glad.)

(4) And what es mare uncertayn thyng, þan es þe tyme of the *dede comyng*.—Rolle of Hampole, *The Pricke of Conscience* ((c. 1340)) [Van der Gaaf; Mossé] (And what is a more uncertain thing than is the time of death coming?)

(5) And þat was showet apertly *by temples and images falling* down in Rome.—*The Stanzaic Life of Christ* ((a. 1400)) [Van der Gaaf]. (And that was shown partly by temples and images falling down in Rome.)

⁵⁹ Einenkel, *Op. cit.* § 3.ε; Mätsner, *Englisch Grammatik* III. p. 85 f.

⁶⁰ As one ModE instance Einenkel (*Ibid.*) mentions the following, which evidently reflects the author's syntactic Latinism.

He rose, and *in his rising* seemed A pillar of state.—Milton, *Paradise Lost*.

(6) Sone *uppon the chef baron comyng* I schall send you a lettre.—*The Paston Letters* ((1461)) [Van der Gaaf]. (Soon upon the chief baron coming I shall send you a letter.)

First it should be observed that the *-ing* forms in these example are gerunds, not present participles. Apart from the morphological consideration of the preceding nouns, it was usual in the Northern or East Midland dialects, as illustrated by these examples, that the *-ing* forms as gerunds were fairly distinguished from the *-and(e)* forms as participles (cf. § 12). In example (1) *appestell* is an uninflected form for the genitive plural, as is often the case with Northern Middle English. *Corn*, in example (2), is another uninflected genitive; it would have been *cornes* in older or Southern English.

In example (3) it would be possible to regard *quene* as accusative and *comynge* as a participle.⁶¹ Indeed in this East-Midland work the forms *-ande* and *-ynge* were sometimes used indiscriminately as present participles⁶². But the meaning of *the quene comynge* here seems to express the idea of an action or occurrence rather than a concrete description of the person. Morphologically, besides, the genitive singular of the feminine noun *quene* (<OE *cwene*) originally had the same form as the nominative singular, and the old usage was still occasionally found as elsewhere in ME. For these reasons we judge *comynge* as a gerund preceded by the outwardly common case *quene*.

Hampole shows a good deal of hesitation in using *dede* (=death) as in example (4), for in similar contexts in the same work he uses "*þe dedes comyng*" and "*þe comyng of þe dede*". Such hesitation, probably due to the fact that the sense of the noun is abstract and inanimate, is the proof that *dede* in the quotation is meant for the genitive.

Example (4) has been quoted so that we may illustrate that the plural noun as sense-subject naturally fails to be formally distinct whether it is genitive or accusative (cf. § 49 c). The common cases *temples* and *images* here are of course meant for the genitives. By the way, let us note that this example presents a good deal of verbal character that is seen in instances of the same construction in the later periods.

The last example includes as sense-subject of the gerund the use of the common case *the chef* (=chief) *baron*, where it is not so easy to explain the disappearance of the genitive ending, for the text *Paston Letters* was written in Norfolk, East Midland, and *baron*, which denotes a person, would have been readily inflected as *barones*. Here the temporal phrase "*uppon the chef baron comyng*," though such is a quite common kind of expression in ModE, may probably be interpreted as an explicit expression for the absolute participial phrase "the chef baron comyng", the preposition *uppon* having been added to express more clearly the relation of temporal determination implied by the absolute construction. We may assume, therefore, that such an expression, apparently in imitation of the Latin usage, was first limited to literary style in that early period.

⁶¹ Curme, *Syntax* p. 489.

⁶² Mossé, *F. P.* II. § 134.

Later on, especially after the end of the seventeenth century, it became popularized and came into colloquial use as well. With this transition we may conclude that a parallel change took place in the nature of the construction. The original participial construction gradually came to be felt as gerundial. Here we can see an aspect where the participle-construction has contributed to the modern extension of the gerund-construction.

§ 45. The failure in the case-distinction was also observable when the personal pronoun *her* was used as sense-subject of the gerund.

(1) I am ful gladde *of here comynge*.—*The Sowdone of Babylone* ((c. 1400)) [Van der Gaaf]. (I am very glad of her coming.)

(2) *Of here þedyrgoyng* Pis was the entent.—Bokenam, *Legends* ((1446)) [Van der Gaaf]. (This was the intention of her going there.)

That *here* (=her) in either of these examples is genitive, not accusative, is clear from the strikingly substantival nature of the collocation. For the construction in example (1), example (3) under the previous section should be compared. In example (2) *þedyrgoyng*, which literally means “thither-going,” remained in the early stage of the compound-construction, where the adverb is prefixed to the gerund so that the components may form one noun (cf. § 38).

6. “Preposition+Genitive+Gerund” in ModE

§ 46. In the greatest number of the ME examples quoted in the preceding sections 39—45, the “subject and gerund” construction is introduced by some preposition. This is only natural, because the gerundial construction can most effectively display its syntactic utility with the stylistic value of supple compactness, when it is freely used as object of a preposition. In this way the idea of various relations can be explicitly denoted by the prepositions; while if we were to use a subordinate clause instead, it would be awkward or, from the ModE point of view, impossible to express any preposition at all. For instance, the German “*dadurch dass er komt*” cannot be translated into “through that he comes” in ModE, but instead, briefly and yet expressively, into “*through his coming*.” It would be unnecessary here to mention that this syntactic facility of the construction has been greatly enhanced since the perfect and passive forms of the gerund (e.g. *by his having come, for my being taken*, etc.) were developed about the end of the sixteenth century.

In the ModE period, the more the verbal force of the gerund came to be developed, the more popular the construction became in use. Of the innumerable examples in ModE that illustrate the “preposition+genitive+gerund” construction, we shall first quote those with personal pronouns as gerundial subjects. Also compare §§ 55, 56, 57.

(1) *At their risinge* in the dawning of the day, thei sent about priuily to their servantes.—T. More, *The History of Kyng Richard the Third* [Visser].

(2) (She) Had made provision *for her following* me And soon and safe

arrived where I was.—Shakespeare, *Com. Err.* I. i. 48-49.

(3) Whether this might not partly arise *from my opening* my Mouth much seldomer than other People...I am not at leisure to determine.—Steele, *The Spectator* No. 17.

(4) She made not the smallest objection *to his joining* in the society of the neighbourhood, nor *to his leaving* his parish occasionally for a week or two to visit his relations.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* xiv.

(5) Mrs. Driffield is very keen *on my doing* it.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xi.

It is no doubt that *her* in example (2) should be understood as genitive. Though the general tendency is that this sort of gerund-construction, as well as those dealt with in the following sections 47-50, became conspicuously more verbal from the eighteenth century onwards, it would not be irrelevant here to mention such a PE instance as follows, where the *-ing* form remains quite substantival though it appears in the same syntactic position.

(6) And he need not have been so much afraid *about his dancing*. Truly, it was not polished, but it could not spoil hers, so light, firm, buoyant!—Galsworthy, *The Dark Flower*, "Spring" viii.

Dancing here does not denote any person's dynamic act performed on a particular occasion, but a purely static and abstract idea meaning "mode or manner of dancing."⁶³ It thus remains in the old stage as a verbal substantive. This is, indeed, the intrinsic feature, more or less, perceivable in any gerund that characterizes its use as distinct from that of the participle.

§ 47. The use of a genitive noun as sense-subject of the gerund has also been fairly common, though not so frequent as that of a genitive personal pronoun. The first of the following examples shows a phenomenon where the genitive noun stands parallel with the genitive pronoun.

(1) They are all couched...with obscured lights; which, at the very instant *of Falstaff's* and *our meeting*, they will at once display to the night.—Shakespeare, *Merry W.* v. iii. 14ff.

(2) There is a very different story from that *of the earth's moving* round the axis.—Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* [Koch].

(3) I hear nothing *of Lord Mountjoy's coming* for Ireland.—Swift, *The Journal to Stella* [Jespersen].

(4) Winterbourne felt a superior indignation *at his own lovely fellow-country woman's* not *knowing* the difference between a spurious gentleman and a real one.—H. James, *Daisy Miller* ii.

(5) Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the whole thing may have been due to a young *gentleman's celebrating* his twenty-first birthday near Oxford...?—Lynd, "The Earthquake."

It is observable that the "genitive and gerund" construction is rarer when

⁶³ Poutsma, *Gram.* LVI § 37 h).

the sense-subject is a noun than when it is a personal pronoun. But when the gerundial subject is in the common or accusative case, the general proportion of the usage is reversed. The latter construction is more usual with a noun than with a personal pronoun, for the reasons that will be remarked in § 49. It would be of some interest here to notice that the use of the genitive noun is commoner in the eighteenth (or early nineteenth) century. For example, in (2) above, *earth's* would sound awkward and probably be replaced by *earth* in PE, since in modern prose style it is unusual to use the genitive form for a noun that denotes an impersonal thing.

Opposite to this general tendency, however, there is another which should be taken into account. Even in late ModE the genitive noun (as well as the genitive pronoun) is liable to be used when the semantic or syntactic nature of the gerund that follows it is decidedly substantival rather than verbal. We should like to add an example which illustrates such tendency.

(6) During the interval of the *cottager's going and coming*, she had said to her husband....—Hardy, *Tess* xxxv.

Here the use of the genitive *cottager's* is quite appropriate, since *going and coming* is almost synonymous with "departure and arrival or return." This is also an important point we should consider in contrasting the gerund-construction with the participle-construction.

The following PE example should now be observed, for it has revealed the substantival nature of the gerund more explicitly, though the sense-subject is expressed in a different outer form.

(7) He...resolved to curse them all in the morning and go off with Leora, but with *the coming of the three-o'clock depression* he perceived that with him she would probably starve....—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith* IX. iii.

Such expression of the gerundial subject by a periphrastic phrase should be compared with the parallel expression of the gerundial object that is found in the older stage of the development (cf. § 38).

7. "Preposition+Common or Accusative Case+Gerund" in ModE

§ 48. It may be considered that such a modern construction as "...to a young gentleman's *celebrating* his twenty-first birthday..." (in example (5) under the previous section) reveals the double nature—the substantival nature on one hand and the verbal nature on the other. First it is substantival in that the gerund *celebrating* is defined by the genitive *gentleman's* and, together with the latter, governed by the preposition *to*. Secondly it is also verbal in that *celebrating* precedes its object *birthday*. The use of the genitive is, therefore, an old characteristic that has tenaciously remained in the verbal construction, which should be the ultimate goal of the development. According to the general trend, therefore, the gerundial subject is to be changed from the genitive case, the old substantival remnant, to the common case, which appears as the grammatical subject preceding the predicate verb, just as the genitive case as sense-object of the

gerund was formerly replaced by the accusative case. The result of the new transition is to appear in the ordinary word-order: the subject and the verb. We have seen in §44 that some sporadic instances of this transition were already found at the end of the fourteenth century when the case-endings of nouns had been levelled in certain positions. But we might agree with Jespersen (*M.E.G.* V. §9. 4₁) in affirming that not till 1700, or somewhat earlier than that, was the intrinsic change universally observed.

It is not the main purpose of the present study to make elaborate inquiries into the various reasons why the common or accusative case has been substituted for the genitive as sense-subject of the gerund. Below we are going to remark only briefly the main circumstances that have brought about the change.⁶⁴

§ 49. a. Sometimes it seems to be practically immaterial to the general meaning whether an *-ing* form is interpreted as a gerund or a participle. The use of an accusative before an apparent gerund can often be attributed to the psychological fact that it may also be considered a participle. This circumstance directly concerns the present study, and so will be observed more fully later, especially in §53.

b. There has for centuries been a strong disinclination in English to make the genitive form in *-s* of a noun that denotes an impersonal or lifeless thing. This accounts for the abundance of instances where the gerundial subjects in the common case do not denote persons or living creatures (cf. §44 and example (2) under §47).

(1) No man ever heard of *opium leading* into delirium tremens.—De Quincey, *Confessions of an Opium-Eater* [Jespersen].

(2) Cornelius...re-read as he walked the curt note which had led to this *journey being* undertaken.—Hardy, *Life's Little Ironies*, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" iv.

(3) There is no possibility of my *suspensions being* wrong.—Id., *Alicia's Diary* v.

(4) Even the mere senses...attest to this truth about *vivacity going* with differentiation.—Chesterton, *As I Was Saying*, "About Shamelessness."

To example (3) the circumstance remarked under c below may also be applied.

Next c down to e concerns the morphological restraints that are inherent in the English language.

c. The common case and the genitive are formally identical in most plural nouns, as well as in the personal pronoun *her* (cf. §45). Phonologically there is no distinction between the two categories in ModE. Even the modern orthographic device of writing *kings* for the common case plural and *kings'* for the genitive plural, as well as *king's* for the genitive singular, had not been estab-

⁶⁴ The observation made in the following section mainly depends on Jespersen, "On Ing" (*S. P. E. Tract* XXV. p. 155 ff.), Id., *M. E. G.* V. §§9.4-9.7, Curme, "History of the English Gerund" (*Englische Studien* XLV.), and Id., *Syntax* p. 485 ff.

lished till the eighteenth century. This formal identity has certainly contributed to the feeling that a common case may be used as sense-subject of a gerund.

(5) Mrs. Bennet...had calculated on his *daughters remaining* at Netherfield till the following Tuesday...—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* vii.

(6) The objection to female juries never was an objection to *juries being* female.—Chesterton, *As I Was Saying*, "About Shamelessness."

The use in example (5) is especially remarkable, because it is seen in the work by Jane Austen, who is so conspicuous in favouring the "genitive and gerund" construction.

d. It is impossible to form genitives of some pronouns, such as *all*, *both*, *each*, *this*, *that*, *himself*, etc., or some adjectives used as nouns, such as *(the) rich*, *(the) English*, etc. So these words naturally precede gerunds in the caseless forms, though the phenomena are of rather rare occurrence.

(7) He wouldn't hear of *that being* possible.—Dickens, *Dombey and Son* [Jespersen].

(8) But, Mr. Morris, ain't you clear forgot about *this being* my day off?—Caldwell, *Georgia Boy*, "Handsome Brown's Day Off."

(9) I'm for *us English sticking* together when we're abroad.—Maugham, *Cosmopolitans*, "Mr. Know-All."

In the last example *English* can be interpreted as apposition to *us*, and so the instance might have to be dealt with under e below. Anyhow it is a striking case where the use of the genitive is unavailable.

We may be allowed to mention the following example of the special collocation under this heading.

(10) I remember a fine thing by the Poet Laureate, something about *there being* more faith in honest doubt...—A. Huxley, *Rotunda*, "The Tillotson Banquet" iii.

Of this expression "*there+gerund*" Jespersen (*M. E. G. V.* 9.7₉) remarks that there are only two quotations to be cited before the nineteenth century, one from Defoe ((1722)) and the other from Joseph Butler ((1736)).

e. We have some difficulty in forming genitives of word-groups. As sense-subject of the gerund, such a word-group only naturally stands before it in the caseless form, though this is also rather a special phenomenon.

(11) He would not hear of *Mrs. Mackenzie and her daughter quitting* his house.—Thackeray, *The Newcomes* [Jespersen].

(12) A note posted by her in Budmouth Regis at daybreak has reached me this afternoon—thanks to the fortunate chance of *one of the servants calling* for letters in town to-day.—Hardy, *Alicia's Diary* vii.

§ 50. When the sense-subject of the gerund is a personal pronoun, the use of the accusative form as distinct from the genitive comes to be questioned. As has been mentioned in § 47, a personal pronoun has preserved the use of the old genitive better here than a noun. This is because the personal pronouns are more distinct and complete in their morphological system and, unlike nouns,

have the genitive singulars distinguished from the genitive plurals, except in the case of *your*.

Nevertheless, the accusative case of a personal pronoun came to be used before a gerund, generally in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵ The new use is suited to colloquial, or sometimes vulgar or dialectal, style. The pronoun has occasionally acquired the capability of being emphasized according to the demand of the context. Before making further inquiries, we shall see some examples.

(1) There could be no harm in *them walking* together.—Hazlitt, *Liber Amoris* [Jespersen].

(2) What's the use o' *you lookin'* at it?—G. Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* V. ii.

(3) Papa did not care about *them learning*.—Thackeray, *Henry Esmond* [Poutsma].

(4) Instead of *me talking* to you, you ought to be talking to me.—Bennett, *How to Live on 24 Hours* [Jespersen].

It may be admitted that such use is generally found in colloquial style. Indeed the accusative pronouns in these contexts are liable to be emphasized and pronounced with a simple, vivid tone. The sentence quoted as example (2) is spoken by an uneducated person and so has a vulgar and dialectal tone. The last example is of special interest, for *me* before *talking* is clearly contrasted with *you* and has been given a strong stress.

Now let us consider what psychological factor has induced the speaker or writer to use such expression. Suppose that the genitive *their*, instead of *them*, were to be used in example (1). In the sentence "There could be no harm in *their walking* together," we might feel the combination between *their* and *walking* so close as to produce the sense of fairly compact unity. On the contrary, the original combination "in *them walking*" is not so close. We can even read it putting a slight pause between *them* and *walking*. What is really meant by the sentence is inferred to be something like "There could be no harm if they were to walk together," though the resultant expression is more straightforward.⁶⁶ Generally speaking, the combination between the accusative pronoun and the *-ing* form is rather loose, and consequently has less of the synthetic sense which is usually felt in an ordinary gerundial phrase. We might proceed a step farther to conclude that the writer has expressed the *-ing* form after the pronoun with some vague sense that it is of the nature of a present participle. It seems possible to trace some influence of the participle in the subconsciousness of the speaker who has used the *-ing* form in such a concrete and colloquial way of expression.

⁶⁵ Jespersen (*M.E.G.* V. §9.7.) remarks that among the accusative pronouns *it* was isolatedly the first to be found before a gerund. This is probably due to the particular circumstance that the use of the form *its* was established much later than that of the other genitive pronouns. It can be exemplified from as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, as follows:

I never had so much as one thought of *it being* the hand of God.—Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* [Jespersen].

⁶⁶ Poutsma, *Gram.* XIX. § 6. I, VI; LVI. § 36. II.

§ 51. The inference drawn in the previous section further leads us to consider the three examples that belong to much earlier periods. They have been quoted by Curme (*Syntax* p. 489) and Van der Gaaf ("The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case" § 17) as illustrating the earliest instances of the kind of gerund-construction which contains an accusative pronoun as sense-subject.

(1) Humbly requyryng...my sayd lord to take no displaysure (=dis-pleasure) at *me* so *presumyng*.—Caxton, *The Epilogue to Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* ((14..)) [Kellner].

(2) I would have no mans honestye empayred (=impaired) by *me* *telling*.—Latimer, *Seven Sermons* ((1549)) [Van der Gaaf].

(3) I trust they will beare with *me* *writing* in the vulgar speach (=speech).—Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* ((1589)) [Van der Gaaf].

In each of these quotations it would be possible to perceive some pause between *me* and the following *-ing* form (in example (1), preceded by the adverb *so*), and so regard the latter as a present participle that is expressed cumulatively as predicatal adjunct of the preceding pronoun. We can assume that this loose but concrete expression with the participle which had been found in the earlier period came to commingle with the "common case and gerund" construction which began to be popularized about the end of the seventeenth century. The result of this process we see revealed in such examples as have been mentioned in the preceding section. The reality of the expression must be inquired into from the psychologic or stylistic point of view.

CHAPTER IV

The Convergency of the Two Constructions

§ 52. In § 49 we have mentioned the influence of the participle-construction as the most important of the circumstances that have brought about the "common case and gerund" construction. Now we are in a position of investigating the individual cases where the sphere of the gerund-construction has been trespassed upon by that of the participle-construction or inversely the latter has been absorbed by the former. Hitherto we have endeavoured to trace some such phenomena diachronically. But so far as the modern usage is concerned, we cannot but recognize that the synchronic method has to be adopted. The process to the new construction did not take place till the modern gerund-construction had been universally established in the late ModE period.

We shall proceed with the observation, with special reference to the three types of syntactic combination. They are Type A: "preposition+(pro)noun+~*ing*," Type B: "verb+preposition+(pro)noun+~*ing*," and Type C: "verb+(pro)noun+~*ing*." By the "verb+preposition" in Type B we mean a somewhat closely fixed group where the verb requires a certain preposition so that the two elements may semantically correspond to one transitive verb.

§ 53. Type A: "preposition+(pro)noun+~ing" has already been exemplified in §§ 49—51. Here we shall only consider those examples which involve some questionable respects. First let us compare the following couple of examples.

(1) Do you know the Jupiter's silly words, *about the bug being* of solid gold, had a remarkable effect upon my fancy?—Poe, *The Gold-Bug*.

(2) The theologian used the old quip *about a philosopher being* like a blind man, in a dark room, looking for a black cat—which wasn't there.—J. Huxley, *Man Stands Alone*, "Life Can Be Worth Living."

In example (1) the prepositional phrase introduced by *about* is parenthetically separated with the commas from the other part of the sentence and so there is felt a more or less unity of its own. Accordingly the combination between *the bug* and *being* is considered comparatively close, forming a nexal relation where *being* is naturally interpreted as a gerund. In example (2), on the other hand, the preposition *about* is combined with the preceding "the old quip" nearly as closely as with the following "a philosopher." The next *being* is further combined to "a philosopher" with much the same closeness. The whole structure, therefore, is expressed in a cumulative style, and *being* is invested with some nature of a present participle. At least, we may suppose, the reason that the writer has not used "a philosopher's being" here is that he has not intended to have recourse to a synthetic expression by means of a gerund but to a looser but more concrete participial expression.⁶⁷ At the same time he has subconsciously preferred the construction composed of the concrete determined and the abstract determiner to the one composed of the concrete determiner and the abstract determined. Although the latter may be more logical than the former, it is the meaning of the former that the reader is more readily accustomed to adjusting.⁶⁸ It is thus upon a basis both stylistic and psychologic that *being* in example (2) had better be understood as a participle.

Another couple of examples should be compared.

(3) When the soprano soloist came in, Paul forgot even the nastiness of *his teacher's being* there.—Cather, *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, "Paul's Case."

(4) Winterbourne had now begun to think simply of the craziness, from a sanitary point of view, of *a delicate young girl lounging* away the evening in this nest of malaria.—H. James, *Daisy Miller* ii.

In example (3) we have the apparent gerundial construction with the genitive *teacher's* as sense-subject of the gerund *being*.⁶⁹ It is inferred that the writer

⁶⁷ Jespersen (*M.E.G.* V. §9.6.) attributes the use of the common case in such an instance to the vague idea of the combination which is unfit to be expressed by means of the genitive case whose character is definite. There is some truth in this observation, in so far as the functional feature of the case is concerned.

⁶⁸ Sandmann, *Subject and Predicate* p. 231.

⁶⁹ According to the research by Fries (*American English Grammar* p. 76f.) concerning modern American usage, there are recorded 20 instances, including both standard and vulgar ones, with nouns in the common case, while only one standard instance with a genitive noun. It seems, however, that the range of the materials adopted is too limited to convey the real state of the usage.

has used the genitive here to clearly express the meaning that what was nasty to Paul was the fact that his teacher was there, not his teacher herself. The distinct gerundial construction here serves to get rid of any ambiguity that would be felt in the expression with the common case "the nastiness of his *teacher* being there." In example (4), indeed, the reader feels such ambiguity in the meaning of "the craziness...of a...*girl* lounging," or rather we should say that the whole sentence itself has been expressed in a rather indefinite style. Amid the general indefiniteness, however, we see the descriptive force displayed intensively in both "a delicate young girl" and "lounging." It may be admitted that the writer has expressed *lounging* in this context with the sense that it is rather a present participle. This also shows that the modern frequency of the common case in this kind of construction is largely due to the writer's psychology of intending to invest the following *-ing* form with some of the participial nature.

§ 54. Of examples that illustrate Type B: "verb+preposition+(pro)noun+~ing," some contain constructions unquestionably clear in their nexal character as gerund-constructions. So in the well-quoted "I *insist upon* Miss Sharp *appearing*" (Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* xi),⁷⁰ "Miss Sharp *appearing*" is evidently equivalent to "that Miss Sharp will appear." But these are not all the cases. There are others where we feel more or less of the participial nature in the *-ing* forms used after the common cases.

(1) I must *object to* this witness *being* allowed to enter the box.—Haggard, *Mr. Meeson's Will* [Poutsma].

Cf. : (2) He had no objection to *your* expecting a little humility of him.—H. James, *Daisy Miller* ii.

(3) Have you ever *heard of* any important treasure *being* unearthed along the coast?—Poe, *The Gold-Bug*.

Cf. : (4) Do not be alarmed if you should hear of *his* having been to me.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* vii.

When we read example (1) or (3), we naturally put a slight pause between the noun and the *-ing* form. We can feel that "this witness" and "any important treasure" are considerably emphasized and are loosely supplemented with "*being* allowed" and "*being* unearthed." Either *being* is therefore tinged with some of the participial character.⁷¹ By the way, the form *witness*, as against *witness's*, in example (1), may be explained phonologically to be due to the principle of euphony which has caused the speaker to avoid the double sibilant in [witnisis]. For the form *treasure*, as against *treasure's*, in example (3), compare § 49 b.

Now we may once again consider the pattern "*think of*+(pro)noun+~ing" that has been described in §§ 30, 31. It can be judged, indeed, that the *-ing* form here is genetically a participle. But the gerund-construction in analogous types has been universalized, so that the *-ing* form in that pattern has some-

⁷⁰ Cf.: And when we saw this he absolutely insisted on *my* having it.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xvii.

⁷¹ For example (3), furthermore, compare example (3) under § 30.

times come to be felt as a gerund. This is a phenomenon especially seen in polite speech when the sense-subject is expressed by a personal pronoun.⁷² The following are some of the instances.

(5) And to *think of your being* up all night and then not able to get a decent breakfast!—Cather, *Obscure Destinies*, "Neighbour Rosicky" i.

(6) She never *thought of his loving* her; that would be—unnatural!—Galsworthy, *The Dark Flower*, "Spring" iii.

We may also mention an example of the synonymous pattern.

(7) I can't bear *the thought of his staying* on in that odious house by himself.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xix.

In these examples the content of the thought has been expressed as a synthetic unity by means of the "genitive and gerund" construction. This is one of the cases where the sphere of the gerund-construction has, as it were, absorbed that of the participle-construction.

§ 55. As to Type C: "verb+(pro)noun+~ing," we must first observe instances where the use of the verbs is analogous to that of "think of" last mentioned in the previous section, that is, where we may see the same trace of transition from the participial to the gerundial construction. The use of the individual verbs in the following examples should be compared with the corresponding use exemplified in § 24.

(1) *Fancy their askin'* you to ride your bicycle with them.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* v.

(2) I do *remember his boasting* one day, at Netherfield, of the implacability of his resentments, of his having an unforgiving temper.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* xvi.

(3) I can hardly *understand a young Frenchman's not entering* the army.—Meredith, *Lord Ormont and his Aminta* [Poutsma].

(4) Mrs. Driffeld didn't half *like his coming* here.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xxiii.

(5) Tess, why do you always *dislike my kissing* you?—Hardy, *Tess* xi.

The verb *fancy*, as in example (1), semantically requires the predication of some descriptive action or behaviour about a person that is the object of mental picturing, and so we may assume that its proper construction should be participial. The use of *their*, instead of *them*, in the example, has made *asking* appear as a gerund. At the same time it ought to be noticed that the general tone of the sentence has turned rather intellectual, as compared with the emotional tone of example (2) under § 24.⁷³ In the other examples, where the verbs denote more

⁷² Poutsma, *Gram.* LVI § 37 b).

⁷³ It is especially remarkable that both of the two constructions are found in the same work by Maugham. The following should be compared with example (1) above.

I heard she'd gone to service at the vicarage. *Fancy her* being there still!—*Cakes and Ale* vii.

Her here might be interpreted either as genitive or as accusative; but judging from the general tone of the quotation, we should like to regard it as accusative.

intellectual state or activity, the nature of the construction is more likely to become gerundial. Indeed the use of the genitive noun in example (3) may be older than that of the corresponding common case, but it offers us a proof that such a verb as *understand* intrinsically requires the gerundial construction. Only as to the verb *like*, as in example (4), we may be able to judge upon the ground remarked in § 24 that the tendency is in favour of "like *him* coming" rather than "like *his* coming." The antonym *dislike*, as in example (5), is not so frequent in this construction. In the quotation it is distinctly shown that the object of *dislike* is the action "(my) kissing (you)," not the person that would be expressed by "me."

Like *dislike* the semantically analogous *hate* and *mind* are used with the same kind of construction. In the following examples it would be noticed that the *-ing* forms have been invested with some of the participial character.

(6) I *hate* anyone *listening* when I'm telephoning.—Christie in *My Best Detective Story* [Jespersen].

(7) I'm sure 'e wouldn't *mind* you 'avin' a look at them.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xii.

With the latter, moreover, compare the following.

(8) I should not *mind* *their* talking about me.—Black, *The Princes of Thule* [Jespersen].

§ 56. An interesting case is observed in the variants of the construction after *prevent*. It can now be used in the three types of structure: **a** "I *prevented* him *from* going," **b** "I *prevented* his going," and **c** "I *prevented* him going." Of them, OED (s.v. PREVENT *v.* 7b, 8b) explains that **c** appears to be short for **a**, perhaps influenced by **b**, as though to say that **c** has been developed through the blending of the two other types **a** and **b**.⁷⁴ The strange fact is that the quotations given by OED itself fail to justify this assumption, though we must admit that the exemplification in this dictionary is not always based upon syntactic principles. The earliest quotation of **c** is dated 1689, while that of **a** is dated 1711 and that of **b** 1841. What is more, Van der Gaaf ("The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case" § 16) gives an example of **c** dated still earlier than 1689. That is:

(1) If wisdome and princely authority be not by you used to *prevent perilles appearing*, we have cause to doubt of greater danger to follow.—Queen Elizabeth, *Letters* ((1592)).

In this quotation "prevent perilles" is understood to convey a complete sense, to which the sense of *appearing* is added only complementally. The combination between *perilles* and *appearing* is much as loose as that between "greater danger" and "to follow" in the same sentence. In spite of Van der Gaaf, therefore, *appearing* here should be regarded as a participle; and we can see that such a participle-construction after *prevent* made its appearance as early as the sixteenth century.

Now, in PE usage, the type "I prevented *him* going" is not so popular as the

⁷⁴ Also compare Poutsma, *Gram.* XIX § 6 III, LVI § 35 a) 2).

types "I prevented *him from going*" and "I prevented *him going*," and of the latter the type "I prevented *him from going*" seems the commoner.⁷⁵ It is presumable that "I prevented *him going*" is felt too vague for such a matter-of-fact statement, and has come to be superseded by the more definite expression "I prevented *him from going*," which is also more analytic than "I prevented *his going*."⁷⁶ The result is, we might say, that the analytic style of the old participial expression, that is **c**, has been turned into the more explicit form of the new gerundial expression, that is **a**. Below we shall exemplify each of the three types, arranging them in the developmental order of **c**, **b** and **a**.

c. (2) The tide *prevented me going* to the wreck.—Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* [Jespersen].

(3) What can *prevent us getting* married?—G. Moore, *Esther Waters* [Poutsma].

(4) Mrs. Bennet was *prevented replying* by the entrance of the footman with a note for Miss Bennet.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* vii.

b. (5) You shall not know that, if I can *prevent your knowing* it.—Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* III. xiv.

(6) You must see how desirable a wife like Miss Halborough would be, to *prevent my becoming* a mere vegetable.—Hardy, *Life's Little Ironies*, "A Tragedy of Two Ambitions" iv.

(7) Thrift in itself is always a thirst to make all things thrive,...to *prevent their being* wasted, or, in other words, destroyed.—Chesterton, *As I Was Saying*, "About Bad Comparisons."

a. (8) I wonder whether the memory of her compassion *prevented him from cutting* his throat.—Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(9) I used all my determination to *prevent* the bitter jibes *from passing* my lips.—Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* xvii.

(10) Tramping, too, *prevents* the grass *from getting* coarse and rough.—J. Huxley, *Man Stands Alone*, "Climate and Human History."

Example (4) contains a passive construction, where the *-ing* form *replying* appears as predicative of the subject "Mrs. Bennet," and thus shows that it is evidently a participle. This structural potentiality offers us another proof that the construction in **c** is participial.⁷⁷ It is also perceivable that the use of **b** is most restricted, for the type is now only ready to be used when the sense-sub-

⁷⁵ Jespersen, *M.E.G.* V. §9.9.

⁷⁶ This type **b** is fit to express a slightly different meaning from what is usually meant by the two other types. It should properly be used when the verb indicates the notion of providing beforehand against the occurrence of some trouble (cf. OED, s.v. PREVENT *v.* 8; Poutsma, *Gram.* xix §32 *b*)), not merely the general idea of stopping or hindrance. Practically, however, the difference seems too delicate to be observed. This is another reason that this type is less favoured in PE.

⁷⁷ It is a noteworthy fact that this participle-construction with the verb *prevent* is found in Jane Austen, who elsewhere uses the "genitive and gerund" construction so frequently. In the following quotation from the same work, therefore, we might judge the construction to be participial, interpreting *her* as accusative.

Her indifferent state of health unhappily *prevents her being* in town.—*Pride and Prejudice* xiv.

ject of the gerund is to be expressed by a personal pronoun.

§ 57. We must next observe the three verbs whose syntactic features are fairly parallel with those of *prevent*: that is, *excuse*, *forgive* and *pardon*. These verbs, too, are often found introducing the "(pro)noun+~ing" construction. Only it is now not so usual; the commoner pattern is "*excuse (forgive, pardon)* +object+for+gerund." They are also used with the construction where the sense-subject of the gerund is expressed by a genitive case. Neither is this use very usual now. Anyhow we have the three types: **a** "*excuse* etc.+accusative+~ing," **b** "*excuse* etc.+genitive+~ing," and **c** "*excuse* etc.+accusative+for+~ing." Below will be given some instances of the respective types.

a. (1) I will therefore first shew that they had no such ignorance that could *excuse them* admittinge that he was a superior.—*The Archpriest Controversy* ((1601)) [Van der Gaaf].

(2) Would you *excuse me* asking for a cup more coffee?—Dickens, *David Copperfield* [Jespersen].

(3) I *forgive him* sinking my own poor truck?—Wycherley, *The Plain Dealer* ((1616)) [Poutsma].

(4) Moost humblie beseking...the Kyng and also the Quene to *pardon me* so presumyng.—Caxton, *The History of Jason* ((c. 1477)) [Kellner].

(5) *Pardon me* saying it.—Tennyson, *The Princess* [Poutsma].

b. (6) He must *excuse my being* rather in a hurry.—Collins, *The Woman in White* [Jespersen].

(7) If you'll forgive my saying so, sir,...your proposal seems to me very rough-and-ready justice.—Galsworthy, *The White Monkey* [Poutsma].

c. (8) The people may be *excused for following* tradition only.—Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato* [OED].

(9) *Forgive me for bringing* you here.—Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit* [Poutsma].

(10) *Pardon me for neglecting* to profit by your advice.—Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* xviii.

It would be proper to infer that the **a** type is of the oldest origin and that the -ing form there is a present participle which is appended to the accusative object as predicative adjunct. The decisive point lies in the semantic and pronunciational division. For example, in "*excuse me asking*..." we feel it possible to divide "*asking*..." from "*excuse me*" and interpret the whole group as meaning "*excuse me if I ask*...". Such division is out of the question in the case of "*excuse my asking*..." of the **b** type, where *my* and *asking* have formed a synthetic unit. "*Excuse my asking*..." may be more logically constructed than "*excuse me asking*...", and so probably be preferred by correct speakers. But after all "*excuse me for asking*..." of the **c** type has come to stay in standard PE as the most favoured construction. We should notice that the **a** type is naturally as much suited to the genius of English syntax in being as analytic as the **c** type; only the difference is that in the latter the annalytic nature is explicitly displayed.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

§ 58. It is needless to say that the range of words and word-groups hitherto taken up as materials for our study, not to speak of examples quoted, is far from exhaustive. Since it is our humble intention, however, to make an attempt to trace the most predominant tendencies in the development of the constructions, we shall be content for the present to make an end of the cursory observation.

Now, reviewing it in retrospect, we shall sum up the prominent features so as to clarify the main routes by which the constructions have attained to the modern stage. In OE the present participle had a distinct form of its own, ending in *-ende*, as against *-ung* or *-ing*, the form of the verbal substantive or gerund. The former had its syntactically verbal capacity developed much earlier than the latter. The participle was already able to function as predicative adjunct of the object after some verbs of perception, when the gerund still remained a genuine noun. With this verbal capacity the participle had a particular stylistic value that has helped to keep the "accusative and participle" construction growing steadily ever since the earliest period. It has made the construction fit for concrete and expressive description as an essential factor for the formation of cumulative style—the style so characteristic of English syntax.

The morphological transition in later periods, however, was against the participle, whose proper form came to be absorbed by that of the gerund in *-ing* in the course of the ME period. In this respect the participle, at the cost of its own form, contributed to have the gerund develop its verbal force. This new syntactic capacity of the gerund was gradually displayed from the end of the twelfth century onwards. About two centuries after that the common case began to take the place of the genitive as a result of the general decay of inflexional endings. This indeed strengthened the verbal nature of the gerund, but its later progress was rather sluggish. Parallel with the earliest type of expressing "object + gerund," such as OE *boc-ræding*, there arose a temporal type of "subject + gerund," such as *sun-rising*. This phenomenon, mainly perceived from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, represents the early stage of the compound. The modern supple and efficient construction was not fully developed till about the end of the seventeenth century. But once established, it has succeeded in becoming a favourite construction in both literary and colloquial speech.

§ 59. Yet it is worth noticing once more that we still sometimes see the original synthetic nature of the gerund-construction fairly preserved in its modern outer form.

(1) This corner of the globe was predestined to be the cradle of the modern world—by its climate, by its great rivers, by the fact of *its being* the original home of wheat, by *its being* a natural meeting-place for different

streams of culture brought by different migrations of men, east and west as well as north and south.—J. Huxley, *Man Stands Alone*, "Climate and Human History."

As contrasted with the abstract, synthetic compactness of such gerundial phrases, we can see distinctly the loose, concrete force of participial phrases, as in the following example.

(2) He was just about to go down when the sight of *the main-deck stirring, heaving up, and changing* into splinters before his eyes, petrified him on the top step.—Conrad, *Youth*.

We may consider it possible to trace both diachronically and synchronically these different kinds of stylistic value representing the two constructions.

§ 60. After the time of Shakespeare, the use of the "accusative and participle" construction, whether introduced by a verb or a preposition, became suddenly more frequent than ever before. Somewhat later than that the gerund-construction began to make no less remarkable progress. It even grew so overwhelming that some earlier participial expressions have resulted in getting absorbed in the gerundial pattern. There are of course instances where the transition in the opposite direction has taken place. But we should like to add the two more examples, which show how naturally participles may come to appear gerundial in some particular contexts.

(1) The first thing I heard was *Preacher Hawshaw saying* that old Uncle Jeff Davis Fletcher...had gone over into the next country to visit some sick relations for a few days.—Caldwell, *Georgia Boy*, "The Day We Rang the Bell."

(2) The next thing he was conscious of was lying in Polly's bed, and *Polly bending* over him wringing out bath towels in hot water and putting them on his chest.—Cather, *Obscure Destiny*, "Neighbour Rosicky" vi.

The expression in example (1) suggests as its psychological prototype the construction "*I heard Preacher Hawshaw saying...*," and that in example (2) the construction "*He was conscious of Polly bending...*". We would rather say that even in the actual expressions the *-ing* forms are participles. But in example (2) there is an external proof against this assertion. *Polly bending* is structurally parallel with *lying*, whose function is evidently substantival, not adjectival. As in this case, an apparent gerund is sometimes a participle in disguise, and this is also a fact that can be observed through the history of English syntax.

§ 61. In the course of the history we have seen some occasional expressions whose origin should be ascribed to the influence of foreign usage. For instance, the ablative absolute construction in Latin gave rise to some analogous expressions in English which were to expand the scope of the participial, or sometimes gerundial, construction. The appearance of some new idioms with gerunds was due to the imitation of the French gérondif in *-ant*, which no doubt stimulated the verbal development of the English gerund. But these were no more than

subsidiary phenomena. Without any such foreign influence, we dare to assume, the two English verbals would have had the potentiality of launching themselves upon the main currents. On a broad survey we should be allowed to conclude that the two constructions have been developed spontaneously in the native syntax.

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The abbreviations which appear in the thesis are shown in brackets after the respective items.)

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